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* बार्हस्पत्य सूत्रम् *

अर्थात्

॥ बार्हस्पत्य अर्थशास्त्रम् ॥

BRIHASPATI SUTRA

OR

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS ACCORDING TO THE SCHOOL OF BRIHASPATI

EDITED WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

DR. F. W. THOMAS, M. A.,

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THE DEVANAGARI TEXT

PREPARED FROM

HIS EDITION (IN ROMAN SCRIPT),

WITH

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AND INDEXES

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॥ ओ३म ॥

विश्वानि देव सवितर्दुरितानि परासुव । यद्भद्रं तन्न आसुव ॥

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

1. ANTIQUITY OF ARYAN POLITY.

The Arthashâstras have been in existence in Aryâvarta as a separate literature from very early times. The superiority of Dharmashâstras over Arthshâstras is referred to in the Smriti ascribed to *Yâjnavalkya* in the following shloka:—

स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान्व्यवहारतः ।
अर्थशास्त्रात्तु बलवद्धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ॥२।२१॥

The same is said in the *Bhavishya Purâna* as quoted in the Aparârka:—

स्मृत्यर्थेन विरोधे तु अर्थशास्त्रस्य बाधनम् ॥

Nârada Smriti also remarks in the same way:—

धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्राभ्यामविरोधेन यत्नतः ।
संपश्यमानो निपुणं व्यवहारगतिं नयेत् ॥
यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः ।
अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥१।३७।३८॥

In his well-known Arthashâstra, *Kautilya* (not later than 3rd century B. C.) says that a literature bearing this title was extant in his days, and that he compiled his treatise after seeing the works of his predecessors. His words are:—

पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः
प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।

(Second edition, p. 1).

Not only Kautilya, but also works anterior to him refer to this literature. In *Caranavyûha* the forty-ninth *Parishishta of the Atharvaveda* we read :—

तत्र ऋग्वेदस्यार्थशास्त्रमुपवेदः। ....

..........................ब्रह्मवेदस्यायुर्वेदोपवेदः।

अभिचारकार्थशास्त्रमित्युच्यते ॥ ४ ॥

This second view that the Arthashâstra is the Upaveda of Rigveda is held in the *Caranavyûha* ascribed to *Shaunaka*.

वेदानामुपवेदाश्चत्वारो भवन्ति ।..................

अथर्ववेदस्य 'अर्थशास्त्रम्'। (चतुर्थः खण्डः)।

It is clear then that Arthashâstra claims a great antiquity in the history of Sanskrit literature.

II. BRIHASPATI AND HIS ARTHASHASTRA.

Pancatantra (*textus simplicior* 12th century A.D. according to Dr. J. Hertel) has a reference to a nîti maxim of Brihaspati.

सुकृतं विष्णुगुप्तस्य मित्राप्तिर्भार्गवस्य च ।

बृहस्पतेरविश्वासो* नीतिसन्धिस्त्रिधा स्थितः ॥२।४१॥

Bhoja in his *Yuktikalpataru (11th* century *A. D.)* while refering to the nîti literature says :—

*Compare with this the teaching of Mahâbhârata:-

विश्वासयेत्परांश्चैव विश्वसेच्च न कस्यचित् ।

पुत्रेष्वपि हि राजेन्द्र विश्वासो न प्रशस्यते ॥

अविश्वासो नरेन्द्राणां गुह्यं परममुच्यते ॥महा० शा० ८५।३३।३४॥

नीतिर्बृहस्पतिप्रोक्ता तथैवौशनसीपरा ।

उभयोरविरुद्धात्र निरूप्या नीतिरुत्तमा ॥ p,2.

Ashvaghosha in his *Buddha Carita* (about first century A. D.) has remarked about Brihaspati :—

यद्राजशास्त्रं भृगुरङ्गिरा वा न चक्रतुर्वंशकरावृषी तौ ।

तयोः सुतौ तौ च ससर्जतुस्तत्कालेन शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्च॥१।४६॥

The well-known *Kâmasûtras* of Vâtsyâyana not only refer to Brihaspati as the compiler of an Arthashâstra but state that he lived about the beginning of creation. The whole account runs thus :—

प्रजापतिर्हि प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा तासां स्थितिनिबन्धनं त्रिवर्गस्य

साधनमध्यायानां शतसहस्रेणाग्रे प्रोवाच ॥५॥

तस्यैकदेशिकं मनुः स्वायंभुवो धर्माधिकारिकं पृथक्चकार ॥६॥

बृहस्पतिरर्थाधिकारिकम् ॥ ७ ॥

Bhása also refers to a Bárhaspatya Arthashástra in his *Pratimâ Nâtaka* :—

रावणः—"...काश्यपगोत्रोऽस्मि साङ्गोपाङ्गं वेदमधीये, मानवीयं धर्मशास्त्रं, माहेश्वरं योगशास्त्रं, बार्हस्पत्यमर्थशास्त्रं, मेधातिथेर्न्याय-शास्त्रं, प्राचेतसं श्राद्धकल्पं च।" प्रतिमा नाटक p, 79.

The Mahâbhârata has the following to say on this point :—

नीतिं बृहस्पतिप्रोक्तं भ्रातॄन्मेऽग्राहयत्पुरा । वन० ३२।६१॥

So we know tnat the Bârhspatya Shâstra claims a great antiquity in the history of Aryan literature.

III. THE ORIGINAL WORK OF BRIHASPATI.

The question now arises, as to whether the original work of Brihaspati was composed in verse or sûtras

or in the mixed style. No doubt some sûtra literature along with gâthâ and other works, was extant even before the time of the compilation of the Brâhmanas because the Shatapatha Brâhmana (सूत्राण्यनुव्याख्यानानि का० १४ अ० ७ ब्रा० ३ कं० ११) alludes to it, but it is not sure whether it had come into vogue at times as early as those of Swâyambhava Manu and Brihaspati, the preceptor of Indra.

IV. MANAVA DHARMA SHASTRA.

Scholars like Max Muller and Buhler held that the Dharmashâstra of Manu was originally a composition in the mixed style of sûtrasand shlokas. Buhler tried his best to put forward this theory with such proofs as he could gather. One of his strongest proofs was a passage मानवं सूत्रमुदाहरन्ति which he found in Vâsishtha Dharmashâstra. Now it is sure that the original work of Manu-had passed through the hands of several editors, as for example Bhrigu, Nárada etc., when it reached the compiler of Vâs.Dh. and that a carna of the Krishna Yajur Veda namely the Mânava had also come into existence. It is, thereforer, quite clear that a school of the Mânavas had come into existence even before the 3rd century B. C. The Arthashástra of Kautilya refers to a certain author of this very school. The views of the Mānavas represented in this Arthashástra differ widely from the Smriti of Manu. It is, therefore, evident that the school consisted of authors who differed greatly. It was this great difference which troubled Buhler very much when he could find no reason as to why the teachings of the Smriti differed from the Mânava Grihya Sûtra. The whole of sûtra literature of the Mânava school came into existence after the Mânava carna had been established, and hence

we can safely conclude that the original Smriti of Manu was purely in verse.

As quoted by Buhler on the authority of Nârada, we know that the original work of Manu began with a verse (shloka, as Nârada says). On the other hand all works in sûtra or the mixed style begin almost with a sûtra.

Again Dhammapada (circa 4th century B.C.) has two verses which are only a Pali version with some change of words of the text of Manu Smriti.

अभिवादनशीलस्य नित्यं वृद्धोपसेविनः । चत्वारि तस्य वर्धन्त आयुर्विद्या यशोबलम् ॥२।१२१॥	अभिवादनसीलस्स निच्चं वद्धापचायिनो । चत्तारो धम्मा वड्ढन्ति आयु वण्णो सुखं बलं ॥८।६*॥
न तेन वृद्धो भवति येनास्य पलितं शिरः । यो वै युवाप्यधीयानस्तं देवाः स्थविरं विदुः ॥२।१५६॥	न तेन थेरो होति येनऽस्स फलितं सिरो । परिपक्को वयो तस्स मोघजिण्णोति वुच्चति ॥१९।५॥

Kautiliya Arthashástra also as referred to on pages 101-03 and 190 of his "Lectures on the Ancient History of India" by Shri D. R. Bhandarkar has two verses of Manu Smriti with slight changes only.

नास्य छिद्रं परो विद्याच्छिद्याच्छिद्रं परस्य तु । गूहेत्कूर्म इवाङ्गानि रक्षेद्विवरमात्मनः ॥७।१०५॥	नास्य गुह्यं परे विद्युश्छिद्रं विद्यात्परस्य च । गूहेत्कूर्म इवाङ्गानि यत्स्याद्विवृतमात्मनः ॥ कौ० पृ० २९

* Read here the note of Max Muller on page 33 of Vol. X Part I of S.B.E

संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् । याजनाध्यापनाद्यौनान्न तु यानासनाशनात् ॥११।१८०*॥	संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन समाचरन् । याजनाध्यापनाद्यौनात्तैश्चान्योऽपि समाचरन् ॥ कौ० पृ० २१८†

Here, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar following the lead of Buhler arrives at the result that 'the verses (above quoted) were not composed by Kautilya but were utilised by him from some work which was in existence long before he wrote or the (metrical) Manu Smriti was compiled.' This is nothing but a prejudice in order to bring down the date of Manusmriti. First a theory is started—Manusmriti is accepted to belong to a later date,–and then if any work anterior to that date is found containing the verses of Manusmriti, (although not mentioning this fact but still indicating that the verses are not his own) it is said that the work in question and the Manusmriti both utilised a material of a very old period. Both this assumption and conclusion do not seem to be convincing.

Last of all we may refer to two verses, to be found in the 18th Sarga of Valmiki Ramayana, where the author of that work explicitly says that the following two shlokas were sung by Manu :—

* Vasishtha 1. 22 ; Baudhayana II. 1. 35 and Vishnu.

† My friend Pandit Nanak Chandra B. A. informs me that Maskri and Hardatta on Gautama Dharma Sutra have got the first half of this verse on the name of Kanva. They both give समाचरन् in place of सहाचरन्, Hardatta at the same time quotes the full verse from Manu also with the words इति मानवम्. There also the first half of the verse has समाचरन् and the second half has exactly the same words as in the present day Manu.

श्रूयते मनुना गीतौ श्लोकौ चारित्र वत्सलौ ।
गृहीतौ धर्मकुशलैस्तत्तथा चरितं हरे ॥ ३१ ॥
राजभिर्धृतदण्डास्तु कृत्वा पापानि मानवाः ।
निर्मलाः स्वर्गमायान्ति सन्तः सुकृतिनो यथा ॥ ३२ ॥
शासनाद्वा विमोक्षाद्वा स्तेनः स्तेयाद्विमुच्यते ।
राजा त्वशासन्पापस्य तदवाप्नोति किल्विषम ॥ ३३ ॥

The verse 32nd is Manusmriti VIII. 38, and verse 33rd is Manu VIII. 316.

It may, therefore, after this beief discussion be safely concluded that the original Smriti of Manu was like the present one composed in verse.1

V. THE SMRITI OF BRIHASPATI.

Like its original, the Manusmriti, the Smriti of Brihaspati was also in verse. That work is however lost now (if it may not be unearthed by some future researches). The small collection of some shlokas which is generally called the Brihaspati Smriti is but a child's play as compared with the Bárhaspatya Shástra referred to in the Mahábhárata. Professor Julius Jolly collected fragments of Brihaspatismriti from different law books and and their commentaries, for translating them in the S. B. E. Vol. XXXIII But these fragments are also incomplete. An exhaustive collection of all the sayings of Brihaspati will not be a fruitless task for some future scholar.2

1 I hope to discuss this subject in detail at some later date.

2 After the above lines were written I read in the Vedic Magazine that Pandit Jaideva Vidyalankar of the Gurukul Kangri is busy with this work and will shortly bring out this useful collection.

VI KAUTILYA AND BRIHASPATI.

Just as the views attributed to the school of Manu by Kautilya and his follower Kâmandaka are not to be met with in the present law-book of Manu, so also the views ascribed to the school of Brihaspati by Kautilya are not found in the collected fragments of Brihaspati. Brihaspati is referred to on six different occasions by Kautilya. See pages. 6, 29, 63, 177, 192, and 375. (*Text, second edition*)

VII. THE BARHASPATYA SUTRAM AND ITS DATE.

The present sûtras even if they do, possess but a very remote connection with the Bárhaspatya shâstra. Even pruned of their sectarian matter, they do not appear to belong to any of the adherents of the original school of Brihaspati. These sūtras may only here and there contain a view of the old Bárhaspatya school. As regards the date of this work, nothing can be said with certainty. The guess of Dr. F. W. Thomas may turn out to be a true one. This much however, is certain that the work is not anterior to the sixth or seventh century A. D.*

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* Pandit Jai Deva in the Vedic Magazine already referred to says that the work is posterior to Kalidas, for the reason that in his Meghaduta Kalidas refers to Kankhal alone, while Hardwar or Gangadvara which is a Shaiva tirtha of a recent origin is not at all mentioned by him. This Gangadvara is mentioned in Barhaspatya sutra III. 122. Hence the work is posterior to the recognition of Hardwar as a sacred place.

VIII. A BARHASPATYA SAMHITA.

There is another treatise connected with the name of Brihaspati. It is the Bârhaspatya Samhitā. We find it often quoted in the गजलक्षण प्रकरण of लक्षणप्रकाश of वीरमित्रोदय. It is in the form of a dialogue between Nahusha and Brihaspati. The work is in the mixed style of prose and verse. This Samhitâ also, as is apparent from the numerous quotations in the above mentioned work, bears no connection with the present sûtras.

IX. WAS BRIHASPATI A CARVAKA. ?

No doubt, there was a great atheistic logician Brihaspati by name; but was he the writer on polity ? Somadeva Suri (10th century A. D.) says in his Yashastilaka बृहस्पतिनीतय इवादेवमातृका (p. 13 Nirnayasagar 1901) and his commentator Shrutasagar Suri says बृहस्पतिनीतय इव । यथा बृहस्पतिनीतयश्चार्वाकशास्त्राणि देवं सर्वज्ञादिविशेषं न मन्यन्ते । So, according to the commentator the Nîtikâra Brihaspati was the renowned Cárvâka. However, all the previous quotations go against this view. Brihaspati the politian, being connected with Manu and others of the theistic school, was certainly a theist. Somadeva and his commentator confuse the two Brihaspatis.

There have been thus three eminent persons at least known by the name Brihaspati in the literary history of Bhârata. The first and the most well-known was Brihaspati, the writer on polity; secondly Brihaspati, the cârvâka logician, and thirdly the person who wrote the samhitâ.

X. PARALLEL PASSAGES.

(१) आत्मवान् राजा १।१	आत्मवान् नृपः । कामन्दकी नीतिसार २।३६
(२) कालिकाभिधान पाषण्डी २।१३	पाषण्डी । नीतिवाक्यामृत पृ० ८२ On this the commentary says कापालिकादि पाषण्डिनम् ।
(३) अर्थमर्थेन २।४६	अर्थेनार्थोपार्जनम् । नी० वा० अमृत पृ० ११६
(४) गुरुवचनमलङ्घनीयम् २।७३	गुरुवचनमनुल्लङ्घनीयम् । नी० वा० अमृत् पृ० ४४
(५) अष्टादशतीर्थानि निरूपयेत् ३।२२	"सेनापतिर्गणको राजश्रेष्ठी दण्डाधिपो मन्त्री महत्तरो बलवत्तरश्चत्वारो वर्णाश्च तुरङ्गबलं पुरोहितोऽमात्यो महामाहात्यश्चेत्यष्टादश राज्ञां तीर्था भवन्ति ।" quoted by श्रुतसागरसूरि on p. 91 of यशस्तिलक Nirnayasagar edition.
(६) ब्राह्मे मुहूर्त उत्थानम् । धर्ममर्थञ्च चिन्तयेत् २।४।१।	A common saying of the Dharmashâstras. Cf. Manu IV. 92.
(७) गजोऽगजेनेव ६।९	गजेन गजबन्धनमिव । नी० वा० अमृत पृ० ११९
(८) धनमूलं जगत् ६।१०	"धनमार्जय काकुत्स्थ धन मूलमिदं जगत्" । quoted by Ramchandra Budhendra on नीतिशतक 31 (Nirnayasagar edition 1917)

These sûtrās of Brihaspati were originally published in LE MUSEON. Troisieme Série—Tome 1. No. 2, 16 Mars 1916. The text printed there, was in the Roman script. To this, Dr. F. W. Thomas had attached his valuable introduction and translation. By the kind permission of the publishers—The University Press Cambridge—of that journal, through Professor Balkrishna M. A.; the editor of the Vedic Magazine, was able to publish this material in his journal for the month of October 1920. The devanâgari text of the sûtrās printed in the Vedic Magazine was prepared by me. During its preparation I was thinking if the text with the introductien and translation of Dr. F. W. Thomas could be preserved in a book form. Even Professor Balkrishna desired the same. This became soon practicable, when the publishers of the present edition undertook this task.

In the end I should thank my friends Pandits Vishva Bandhu Shâstri M. A. and Nanak Chand B. A. and my pupil Desh Raj for going through the proof-sheets.

DAYANANDA ANGLO VEDIC COLLEGE, LAHORE, *December*, 1920. BHAGAVADDATTA

A BRIHASPATI SUTRA.

The text here edited with a translation was brought to notice in the course of a search for a celebrated treatise, also ascribed to a Brihaspati, namely the exponent of the Lokâyata or Cârvâka doctrine, the crude corporealism of India. The discovery of this work, to judge from the quotations in the *Sarvadarshana-samgraha* and elsewhere, would contribute notably to the entertainment of students of Sanskrit literature.

The present treatise is not devoid of interest, but the interest is of a different character. The work is in one respect unique, being an exposition of the Science of Royal Policy in *Sûtra* style. This Indian science may claim no ordinary place in the history of culture, since two of its succedanea, the policy in fable and the game of chess, still styled the Royal Game, have made the conquest of the world. In its pure form as a science of monarchical government it does not seem to have passed beyond the Indian sphere, that is the sphere dominated by Indian culture, including Further India, the Malay countries, Central Asia, and Tibet : for, though the Muhammadans have a science of government, which may go back to pre-Islamic Persia, it does not seem to betray an Indian inspiration. And Macchiavelli's *Prince*, if influenced at all, as is à *priori* quite conceivable, by oriental models, would derive rather from the Muhammadan than the Indian. The propagation of the policy in fable (the Fables of Pilpay) was first adumbrated by Sir William Jones, in a sentence*

* From the Third Annual Discourse : prefixed to his translaton of the *Hitopadesha.*

which has been expanded by Benfey, with remarkable learning, into an important treatise ; just as another sentence from the same eminent scholar developed in the hands of Bopp into the science of Comparative Philology.

In its technical form the Indian science of polity first became known by the publication of the *Kâmandaki-Nitisâra* with selections from the commentary (edited by Râjendralâl Mitra and others in *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1861-1884). The next stage is represented by two valuable publications of Professor Formichi, a translation of the work of *Kâmandaki* and a treatise entitled *Gli Indiani e la loro Scienza politica* (Bologna, 1899). In 1908 a notable paper by Professor Hillebrandt drew attention to a number of quotations from a prose work ascribed to Cânakya, also known as Vishnugupta and Kautilya, which was plainly the original authority upon which the later scholastic expositions by Kâmandaki and others were based. Prof. Hillebrandt was unaware at the time that this original treatise had already been discovered in South India, and that the discoverer, Pandit Shama Shastri of Mysore, had published an article dealing with it in the *Indian Antiquary* (1905, pp. 5 sqq.) and had commenced to issue a translation in the *Mysore Review* (1906-9, completed in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1909–10), of which publications notice was taken in Mr Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* (Oxford, 1907, pp. 134 sqq.)

The text was edited by Pandit Shama Shastri (*Mysore Government Oriental Library Series : Bibliotheca Sanskrita*, No. 37) in 1909, in which year, having

been favoured with a perusal of proof-sheets I was able to draw attention (J. R. A. S. pp. 446-71) to the extreme importance of the work. In 1911-12 Professor Jacobi in two very valuable papers (*Kultur-Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches aus dem Kautilîya* and *Uber die Echtheit des Kautilîya* in the Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1911, pp. 954-973, 1912, pp. 832-849) discussed the bearings of the work upon the Indian literary and linguistic history and argued forcibly for its authenticity. We have also to take note of interesting discussions of the work by Prof. Jolly, *Lexikalisches aus dem Arthashâstra* (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, XXXI., pp. 204-10), *Kollektaneen zum Kautilîya Arthashâstra* (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1914, pp. 345-359), Dr Johannes Hertel, *Literarisches aus dem Kautilîyashâstra* (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, XXIV, pp. 416-422), and Dr Jarl van Charpentier, *En Indisk handbok i statslara fran 300 f. kr.* (*Nordisktidskrift*, 1913, pp. 353-369), Narendra Nath Law, *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* (*Based on the Arthashâstra of Kautilya*) (vol. I., London, etc., 1914) and a partial commentary compiled by Dr I. Sorabji, as a pupil of Prof. Jolly, and published at Allahabad in 1914. A revised translation by Pandit Shama Shastri is now passing through the press. The information contained in the *Arthashâstra* is still far from exhausted, and the interest in it may be expected continually to increase.

As Prof. Jacobi has mentioned, Cânakya frequently quotes his predecessors, both schools and individuals, the style often assuming almost the form of a discussion; and it is clear that in (say) the fifth and fourth

centuries B. C. the subject of royal policy was a recognized topic. The schools are the Mânavas, Bârhaspatyas, Aushanasas, Ambhîyas (no doubt, of Taxila) and Parâsharas, and the individuals Bhâradvâja, Vishâlâksha, Pishuna, Kaunpadanta, Vâtavyâdhi and Bâhudantî-putra. It is, therefore, of interest to find that in the account of the science occurrig in the Mahâbhârata (cited by Prof. Jacobi, 1911, p. 973)* some of these names occur. There we are told that the founder of the science was Brahmâ himself, whose work was abridged by Shiva in a treatise entitled *Vaishâlâksha*, and then further abridged in succession by Indra, who compiled the *Bâhudantaka*, Brihaspati the *Bârhaspatya*, and Kavi (Ushanas), the (Aushanasa) treatise-of which the last-mentioned is named along with those of Manu, Indra, Bhâradvāja, and Gaurashiras in another passage of the same book (c. 58, 2-3), also in 1. 98, 36 and elsewhere in the literature (e.g. *sâma aushanasa* in the *Jânakī harana*, x.26).

†एतत्ते राजधर्माणां नवनीतं युधिष्ठिर ।
बृहस्पतिर्हि भगवान्नायं धर्मं प्रशंसति ॥ १ ॥
विशालाक्षश्च भगवान्काव्यश्चैव महातपाः ।
सहस्राक्षो महेन्द्रश्च तथा प्राचेतसो मनुः ॥ २ ॥
भरद्वाजश्च भगवाँस्तथा गौरशिरा मुनिः ।
राजशास्त्र प्रणेतारो ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ ३ ॥ शा०अ०५७

* Also cited by Dr G. Oppert in his *Weapons, Army Organisation And Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, 1880, p 35. B.Datta.

† I have introduced here the original shlokas for the benefit of the reader. B. Datta.

तानुवाच सुरान्सर्वान्स्वयंभूर्भगवाँस्ततः ।
श्रेयोऽहं चिन्तयिष्यामि व्यतुवोभीः सुरोत्तमाः ॥ २८ ॥
ततोऽध्यायसहस्राणां शतं चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् ।
यत्र धर्मस्तथैवार्थः कामश्चैवानुवर्णितः ॥ २९ ॥
संचिक्षेप ततः शास्त्रं महाशास्त्रं ब्रह्मणा कृतम् ॥ ८९ ॥
वैशालाक्षमिति प्रोक्तं तदिन्द्रः प्रत्यपद्यत ।
दशाध्यायसहस्राणि सुब्रह्मण्यो महातपाः ॥ ९० ॥
मघवानपि तच्छास्त्रं देवात्प्राप्य महेश्वरात् ।
प्रजानां हितमन्विच्छन्संचिक्षेप पुरंदरः ॥ ९१ ॥
सहस्रैः पञ्चभिस्तात यदुक्तं बाहुदन्तकम् ।
अध्यायानां सहस्रैस्तु त्रिभिरेव बृहस्पतिः ।
संचिक्षेपेश्वरो बुद्ध्या बार्हस्पत्यं यदुच्यते ॥ ९२ ॥
अध्यायानां सहस्रेण काव्यः संक्षेपमब्रवीत् ।
तच्छास्त्रममितप्रज्ञो योगाचार्यो महायशाः ॥ ९३ ॥ शा० अ० ५८

To complete this brief sketch we should mention the *Shukraniti,* no very early work, which has several times (by Oppert at Madras in 1882, by Jîvânanda Vidyâsâgara at Calcutta, I8?2 etc. etc.) been edited in India and is now accessible in translation (by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in *Sacred Books of the Hindus* Allahabad, 1914).

The *Agni-purâna* has also a section devoted to the subject, which is, further, fully represented in the *Mânava Dharmasâstra,* as well as in the *Mahâbhârata.* We need not mention the later and minor treatises in Sanskrit literature.

The *Nîti* literature of Burma is of a different character. In the Tibetan, however, where we find also quasi-independent works on government, there are translations of Sanskrit texts in verse ascribed (1) to Masuraksha and (2) to Nâgârjuna. The Javanese has, besides a professed translation of the *Kámandaki Nítisára,* also some minor tracts, perhaps representing the late moral anthology which bears the name of Cânakya.

If the short text which is here edited were representative of the ancient *Bârhaspatya* doctrine, it would have a considerable interest. Unfortunately, this is far from being the case. It professes, indeed, like the *Brihaspati Smriti,* to be dictated to Indra by his Purohita. But what follows is a brief and strangely disjointed exposition of the subject. Its date, as it stands, seems from an apparent mention of the Yâdvas of Devagiri to be brought down at least to the twelfth century A.D. It refers, in passages which, however, may be suspected of interpolation (see notes to II. 8–35, III. 8–16, 33–7, 119–33), to the sects of the Shaivas, Vaishnavas, and Shâktas and names their sacred domains (*kshetras*), some of which may not be ancient. It does not seem to contain the matter indicated by the citations in the Arthashâstra of Kautilya (pp. 6, 29, 63, 177, 192 of the edition). It displays some grammatical peculiarities, e.g. neuters for masculines (which may sometimes be explained as accusatives obscured by the elliptical *sûtra* style and *vice versa*), accusative after *vi-shvas* (which, however, occurs elsewhere), and even the forms *samgrahet* (which should perhaps be *samgrahayet,* as the correct *samgrihníyát* occurs several times) and *diryát*

(old subjunctive of *dîv* ; see Lexx.). Finally, it presents some confusions (e.g. I. 36, II. 34, V. 17), probably due to the MSS., and one strange word *kusumânta*, which, though it can hardly be for Musalmân, might conceivably be a roundabout expression for Pallava (or *pallava=vita*).

It is not, however, the case that nothing can be said on the other side. Apart from the suspected interpolations, the tone and style, and even the disjointed and miscellaneous character of the work, produce a sense of antiquity : it is hard to conceive of such a treatise being deliberately compiled by persons acquainted with the *Nîtisâra* of Kâmandaki and the *Shukranîti*. Some of the expressions, e.g. *atibhedayet* (I. 52), *alamkârayet* (IV. 10), are in the old *Arthashâtra* style, as are the proverbial expressions (e.g. I. 29, 100, II. 11, V. 13, IV. 12). The name *Tishya*, as applied to the fourth, or Kali, age, recurs in the *Mahâbhârata* and *Harivamsha*. A connection with the Bârhaspatyas may be seen in the restriction of the royal sciences to one, namely *dandanîti* (Arthashâstra, p. 6), although they add *vârttâ* (which again is represented in our text by *krishigorakshabânijyâni*, II. 4; cf. Arthashâstra, p. 8, *krishipàshupàlye bánijyà ca vàrttà*). The importance attached to the Lokâyta and Bauddha doctrines also points to the same direction. The term *Kâpâlika*, as applied to adherents of the *Kâmashâstra*, requires explanation; but some Shaiva sects e.g. the Pâshupatas encourage erotic ideas.

Upon the whole we should perhaps not be mistaken in maintaining that the text *does*, though rather remotely, derive from the ancient *Bàrhaspatya* system. We might compare it with such treatises as the existent *Vedàngas*,

or with the *Atharvaveda Parishishtas*, which contain undoubtedly ancient matter along with strange lexicographical and grammatical features (e.g. *homayet* and even *namaskaret* ; see the edition by Negelein and Bolling, Leipzig 1909–10, index). They belong to the backwaters of priestly studies preserved in Southern India, when the general interest was transferred to such subjects as Nyâya, Vedânta, law, and grammar.

A Ms. of the work seems to be recorded as in private possession in South India (see Oppert's 'List,' vol. 1. No. 4642).* This MS. has not been procurable; but by the kindness of Prof. Rangâchârya, late Curator of the Government Oriental MSS. Library in Madras, I have been favoured with a Devanâgarî copy of another MS., which is under his charge. Upon this (M) I have based the text, recording the slight variants of the Royal Asiatic Society's Whish MS. (W—noted in Winternitz's catalogue under No. 160 (3), p. 219). Both originals are in Grantha character, and they derive not remotely from a common source.[1] The punctuation follows almost invariably the Madras copy : the numbering of the *Sûtras* has been added.

As the treatise is definitely : a *Sûtra*, a commentary must have been designed. Does a copy exist, perhaps under Oppert's I. No. 6061 *Bárhaspatya–sûtra-tîká* (no longer traceable) ? It might contain something

* There is another MS. of the work with Shri Pandit T. Ganapati Shastri of Travancore. He writes to me in his letter dated 22nd Dec. 1920 thus—'As desired in your letter, I shall arrange on receipt of your printed forms of Bárhaspatya to note down the variants.' These I have not yet received. B. Datta.

1. Whether this common source was the actual Madras MS.

interesting, more especially as it is not quite clear that the text in its six *adhyáyas* is complete[2].

I hope shortly to be in possession of a *Níti-sútra* ascribed to Cânakya. *

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or not, I am unable to demonstrate. That it was in the Grantha character is proved by the confusions between *e* and *hi* (v. 15); °*au* and *n* (read as *n*: III. 118, IV 38, v. 22); *m* and *h* (I. 5, II. 8, 18, III. 76, 81, 92, v. 11); *k* and *t* (I. 54. 76. III. 81, 92, 131, v. 13); *k* and *tt* (III. 122); *g* and *bh* (III. 67); *c* and *v* (III. 26–7); *c* and *p* (II. 39); *nc* and *sc* (II. 73, III. 23, 87, 102); j and *bh* (II. 33); *nd* and *ndr* (III. 41); *nd* and *ndh* (II. 43); *t* and *m* (v. 26); *n* and *r* (I. 7); *nu* and *nri* (I. 54); *p* and *v* (v. 27); *la* and *li* (II 9) *vra* and *vri* (v 26).

2. We may here enumerate the chief grammatical peculiarities above referred to. Some of them may be due to the elliptical *Sutra* style, while some masculine plurals in *ani* from nouns in *a* may be conjectured to be MS. errors, final *n* (Grantha, etc.) having been read as *ni*. Also double gender in such nouns is common :

(a) neuter for masc. :
abhiprayam (v. 9); *artham ?* (VI. 9); *asvani* (III. 57); *upayani* (IV 43); *kalaham* (IV. 36); *kamam ?* (II. 47); *devalayani* (III. 56); *dharmam ?* (II. 46); *pratikram* (IV. 50); *mantrani* (III. 8, elsewhere masc. : different sense ?); *moksham ?* (II. 48); *lobham* (I. 22) *vadham* (II. 49); *shabdam* (IV. 33, known elsewhere); *svaram* (IV. 17); *vishaya* (III. 113 ?).

(b) compounds with *adi* in various genders, having no obvious concord : I. 12, 57, 64, 65, 106; II. 16, 19; III. 15.

(c) masc for neuter :
aushadhah (III. 139); *kshetrah* (III. 119-122; also neut.); *phalah* (III. 73); see also III. 9.

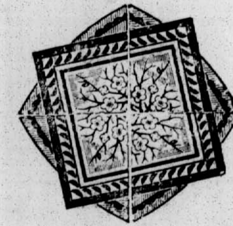
(d) *arj*-for *arj* : II. 7, 9, 13.

(e) *suparihritya* (v. 15) and *divyat* (III. 46, 47) are archaic. As regards Sandhi, I have usually normalized, sometimes leaving *h* in pause, where it is legitimate.

* This has now been printed as an appendix to the second edition of Kautilya Arthashástra by Pt. Shama Shastri.

1. INDEX OF PROPER NAMES AND OTHER IMPORTANT WORDS.

2. INDEX OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.



ओ३म्

अथ बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रम् ।

[प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।]

बृहस्पतिरथाचार्य इन्द्राय नीतिसर्वस्वमुपदिशति ।

आत्मवान् राजा ॥१॥

आत्मवन्तं मन्त्रिणमापादयेत् ॥२॥

दण्डनीतिरेव विद्या ॥३॥

धर्ममपि लोकविक्रुष्टं न कुर्यात् ॥४॥

करोति चेदाशास्यैनं[1] बुद्धिमद्भिः ॥५॥

समानैः सेव्यः ॥६॥

स्त्रीबालवृद्धैः सह न[2] वदेद्धर्मनीतिकृत्यानि ॥७॥

ऐन्द्रजालिकं[3] न कुर्यात् ॥८॥

मन्त्रवादोत्सवौ च ॥९॥

आमयविषध्वंसनानि च ॥१०॥

न भस्मधारणम्[4] ॥११॥

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1. W अशास्येनः । 2. W र । 3. W ०जालकं । 4. M erases 11 and inserts it after 12.

नाग्निहोत्रवेदपाठादीनि च ॥१२॥

न तीर्थ[5]यात्रा ॥१३॥

न राजसेवा च ॥१४॥

न स्त्रीसेवा च ॥१५॥

न म[१ख]द्यं पिबेत् ॥१६॥

ब्राह्मणं न हन्यात् ॥१७॥

स्तेयं न कुर्यात् ॥१८॥

बहु न च स्रगनुलेपौ[6] ॥१९॥

न विषीदेत् ॥२०॥

न चातिकुप्येत् ॥२१॥

[7]अविषये लोभमदानसंज्ञम् ॥२२॥

केदारे बीजानि वापयेत् ॥२३॥

दानं कर्तव्यम् ॥२४॥

तदसहिष्णुता लोभः ॥२५॥

स्तेयं लोभश्च ॥२६॥

स्वद्रव्यव्ययहेतुः कामः ॥२७॥

गुरुदेवब्राह्मणनृपादिहिंसाबुद्धिः क्रोधः ॥२८॥

स्वशिरस्ताडनं च ॥२९॥

5. W ०र्त्रां। 6. W ०लेपा। 7. *Sic;* perhaps a verb (कुर्वीत) is understood.

बलादिषु च समं शत्रुं युद्धेन हन्यात् ॥३०॥

अन्याभि[8]योधी सामदान[9]भेदमायोपेक्षादिभिः ॥३१॥

मल[10]वं न कुर्यात् ॥३२॥

मृगयातिसङ्गं च नाचरेत् ॥३३॥

स्त्रीष्वतिसङ्गाद्यशो व[२क]र्धते ॥३४॥

आयुश्च क्षीयते ॥३५॥

द्यूतपरतापपरापवादपातकिसमागमे[11] समन्त्रदानि परच्छिद्रा-[12]णि विद्याव्यसनपरिहास्येन ॥३६॥

औषधो[13]पयोगविण्मूत्रविसर्जनकस्ना[14]नदन्तधावनमैथुनोपभोग-दैवतपूजापि रहस्येन ॥३७॥

वृथा धर्मध्वजिनं न विश्वसे[15]त् ॥३८॥

निन्देच्च च ॥३९॥

उन्मत्तजडादी[16]न् दृष्ट्वा न हसेच्च ॥४०॥

तुल्यशीलवयोभिः क्रीडितव्यं रहस्ये[17] ॥४१॥

गजाश्वक्री[18]डे व्यक्ते[19] न द्विमूर्तम् ॥४२॥

दूषयेच्च च स्वजातिजीवत्सु ॥४३॥

8. *Sic* M; W [०योगी]. Read ०योधिनः ? 9. W समद्नानभेद। 10. W मलवं। 11. W ०गतेमस—the reading and sense are doubtful. 12. W परि०। 13. W औषधोयंग०। 14. W स्मान। 15. For accusative after वि-श्वस् see Lexica and comp. V, 19 infra. 16. W ०जाक्कदीन्। 17. M includes रहस्ये in the next *sûtra*. 18. W ०मश्वरासक्रीडे। 19. M ०क्के।

अर्थेनानुरागेणाभिजन्मनौदार्येण पूर्वैर्भ[२ख]विष्यैरधिकत्व इच्छा कर्त्तव्या ॥४४॥

पूर्व्वाचरितं धर्ममनुजीविसख्यममात्यज्ञातिसुहृद्बान्धवान् समं पश्येत् ॥४५॥

बहिरन्तर्दण्डदानावनुजीविषु ॥४६॥

सामभेददानानि मन्त्रिषु ॥४७॥

साम[२०]भेददानार्थमायपिण्डानि ज्ञातिषु ॥४८॥

अप्रियमपि वचनं शृणुयात् ॥४९॥

दुर्दिनग्रहवैषम्यत्रिजन्मनक्षत्रे गुरुकार्य[२१]प्राप्तौ न च मङ्गलानि सेवेत ॥५०॥

एकदे[२२]शैकरूपिणीमभिजातां स्त्रियं गमयेत् ॥५१॥

अतिभेदयेन्नातिसामं नातिदानं न च स्त्रीषु दण्डो न च मायो[२३]पेक्षा[२४] कर्तव्या ॥५२॥

तासु न बहु वदेत् ॥५३॥

ग्रामया[३क]चकस्तुतमागधवन्दिनटनर्त[२५]क्युपाध्यायासत्यवाद-बटु[२६]विटवणिजगोपालवेश्या[२७]कुनृपेष्व[२८]नृताडम्बरं वक्तव्यः॥५४॥

संन्यासं[२९] नृपवेश्यामन्त्रवादोपजीविष चिरं न सेवेत ॥५५॥

20. भेदनाना॰। 21. M W ॰कार्ये प्र॰। 22. W ॰शम्; M ॰श ए॰। 23. M चामयो॰। 24. M W insert न। 25. Read सूत for स्तुत ? W ॰नर्तत्यु॰। 26. M ॰जतु॰; W ॰जछु॰। 27. W ॰वेश्य॰। 28. M अनृ॰। 29. M संन्यास।

आत्मप्रभुं सेवेत ॥५६॥

आयत्यादीनति न ॥५७॥

स्त्रीद्यूतपानसक्तान्न सेवयेत् ॥५८॥

पञ्च नाडिका इष्टदेवताजपादि[३०] पञ्चनाडिकायामतीतायामास्थानम् ॥५९॥

दश नाडिका विधिः पञ्च नाडिकाः स्नानम् ॥६०॥

त्रिनाडिका भोजनम् ॥६१॥

पञ्चनाडिका हास्यक्रीडा स्निग्धैः ॥६२॥

द्विनाडिका सन्ध्या[३१] ॥६३॥

सप्त नाडिका नृत्तादयः ॥६४॥

सप्त नाडिका मैथुन[३ख]भोजनादयः ॥६५॥

सप्त नाडिका सुप्तिः ॥६६॥

स्वनियमं कुर्यादप्रमादेन ॥६७॥

अश्वनियामक इव ॥६८॥

शिरःकम्पनास्थानेन स्वागतेन शिष्ट[३२]ताम्बूलदानेन ब्राह्मणोत्तमान् ॥६९॥

दु[३३]र्ब्राह्मणं शिरःकम्पेन[३४] न सोपायनमपि ॥७०॥

30. M here inserts नाडिकां। 31. W सन्ध्य। 32. *Sic* (not पि॰)। 33. W दुब्रा॰। 34. W ॰म्पन; M ॰म्पनेन with सोपायनमपि in the next *sûtra*।

समानप्रभुं [35]विश्वेश्वरं वा स्वागतेनासनेन शिरःकम्पेन ताम्बूलदानेन हास्यकथया च ॥७१॥

स्मितेन स्वागतेनास्या[36]स्त्रैवर्णिकान् ॥७२॥

ईक्षणस्मितेन स्वागतेन [37]शूद्रान् ॥७३॥

अभीष्टद्रव्यदानेन [38]बालवृद्धादीन् ॥७४॥

अन्त्यपाषण्डादीन् [39]वाङ्मात्रेणापि [39]न ॥७५॥

[40]कार्यगुरु[४क]त[41]याऽनुगच्छेत् ॥७६॥

[42]अल्पं वदेच्च योगं दद्यात् ॥७७॥

वणिकापरिग्रहं न कुर्याद्रहस्ये[43] ॥७८॥

कर्मकारान्प्रति [44]योगीनपि कार्यमविचारयेत् ॥७९॥

स्निग्धैः [45]सह समानं वर्त्तेन्मन्त्रित्वे ॥८०॥

अन्त्यजं [46]त्व[47]नन्त्यजातिनम् ॥८१॥

अन्त्यजानां स्वार्थानिवेदकत्वमाज्ञाकर्तृत्वं च ॥८२॥

तन्नातिलालयेत् ॥८३॥

न विश्वसेच्च ॥८४॥

सर्वं ज्ञात्वा न कुर्यात् ॥८५॥

35. W विश्वे० । 36. Text corrupt, reading doubtful. 37. M नम् । 38. W ०वृद्धदीन् । 39-39. M includes in the next *sûtra*. 40. W कार्या० । 41. M ०ङ्गया । 42. W स्वल्पम् । 43. M W includes रहस्ये in the next *sûtra*. 44. *Sic* (for योगिन अपि ?) । 45. W सहं । 46. W अत्य० । 47. अना० ।

धर्मगुप्तिः गृहया[48]त्रागुप्तिः कार्यगुप्तिः वैरगुप्तिः यशोभङ्गे सत्यमपि नेति वदेत् ॥८६॥

[49]चिकित्सकज्योति[४ख]षमन्त्रवादिनः संग्रहेत[50] वृत्तशीलसम्पन्नान् ॥८७॥

सत्यमपि दुःखानर्थसाधनमपि[51] न वदेत् ॥८८॥

पञ्चविंशतिवर्षं यावत् क्रीडाविद्यां व्यसनात् कुर्यात् ॥८९॥

अत उत्तरमर्थार्जनम् ॥९०॥

आत्मानमनृणी[52] कुर्यात् ॥९१॥

ऋ[53]णवाञ्जायते त्रिभिः कामक्रोधलोभैः[54] ॥९२॥

शरीरं सर्वदा रक्षेच्च ॥९३॥

नित्यकर्म न त्यजेत् ॥९४॥

जनघोषे सति क्षुद्रकर्म [55]न कुर्यात् ॥९५॥

नष्टे न स्थातव्यम् ॥९६॥

दूरपरिहरणीयं गुरुतरमपि तद्राज्यकार्यम्[56] ॥९७॥

कुसुमान्तान् दण्डनायकान्भवान्न सेवेत ॥९८॥

[५क]अल्पहानिः सोढव्या ॥९९॥

48. W ०यात्रा० । 49. W चिकित्साज्यो० । 50. *Sic* (for संगृह्णीयात्) । 51. *Sic* (omit अपि ?) 52. W आत्मानमात्मनृ० । 53. M र्णं वा जा० । 54. M W ०लोभे । 55. W omits न । 56. W राज्या० ।

यथा मातङ्ग[५७]चोरव्यालसर्पव्याघ्रकुलं[५८] विपिने श्मशाने[५९] वसति तस्मात्परमनागसां ज्ञातिवैरं न कर्तव्यम् ॥१००॥

एकामिषश्वानवत्[६०] राज्योपप्लवे तद्राज्य[६१]च्छत्रम् ॥१०१॥

नीतिः किल नदीतीरतरुवत् ॥१०२॥

तन्नेहितव्यम् ॥१०३॥

भूतद्रोहिणः कुसुमान्तादयः ॥१०४॥

यशोवीर्यायुःश्रीरतिकसामन्त[६२]सेवा ॥१०५॥

कामक्रोधमदमात्सर्यपैशुन्यादीन्न कार्येत ॥१०६॥

अरिः[६३] शुभशीलो[६४] मित्रम् ॥१०७॥

सुहृत्सु शुभशीलः[६५] शत्रुः ॥१०८॥

चन्द्रादित्ययोरेकरुचित्वाच्[५ख]छत्रुत्वम् ॥१०९॥

यदि चेन्न स्थितिस्तयोः ॥११०॥

ज्ञातिषु यत्र वैरं तत्कुलद्वय[६६]मामूलं नश्यति ॥१११॥

यः शास्त्रं दण्डनीतिं परित्यजत्यनर्थकः शलभा इव वह्निं प्रविशत्यज्ञानात्, इत्याह भगवानाचार्यः सुरेन्द्रगुरुः ॥११२॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

57. W मातंगग्रहचोर० । 58. MW ०कुले । 59. W श्मशानभूमौ । 60. *Sic* (see note to trans.) 61. M राज्यं च्छ० । 62. M श्रीरतिकसामन्त०, W श्रीरतिं कुसमान्त०. Read श्रियो हरति कुसुमान्त० । 63. M W हरिः । 64. MW शुभं शीला । 65. ०शील । 66. M omits द्वय ।

[द्वितीयोऽध्यायः।]

गुणवतो राज्यम् ॥१॥

विद्यागुणोऽर्थगुणः सहाय[१]गुणाश्च ॥२॥

स्वकुलरञ्जनं च चारित्ररक्षणम् ॥३॥

कृषिगोरक्षवाणिज्यानि ॥४॥

सर्वथा लौकायतिकमेव शास्त्रमर्थसाधनकाले ॥५॥

कापालिकमेव कामसाधने ॥६॥

आर्हतं धर्मे ॥७॥

[६क] लौकायतिकमसेनार्थे[२] क्षिप्रं नश्यति तत् ॥८॥

[३]कापालिकार्हतबौद्धाश्च ॥९॥

एतेषु तिष्ठन् शलभवह्निवत् ॥१०॥

फलानि श्रोत्रसलिलकल्पानि ॥११॥

अविद्यायुक्तः पुरुषार्थं साधयितुं धर्मयुक्ते यदि[४]च्छति तदा लौकायतिकाभिधान[५]पाषण्डी ॥१२॥

यदा चण्डाल उदारसुरामांसादिकामेच्छुस्तदा कापालिकाभिधानपाषण्डी ॥१३॥

1. W सा० । 2. M *Sic*; W ०मसेनार्थः correct reading doubtful (अपेतार्थे ?) 13. W कापालक० । 4. W यद्. Read यदे ? 5. W ०आभिधन० ।

यदा सन्ध्योपासनाद्यग्निहोत्रादि[६] परित्यज्याहिंसाधर्ममिच्छुः तदा क्षपणकपा[६ख]षण्डी ॥१४॥

यदा वेदोक्तकर्म ज्ञानं च सर्वेश्वरं शिवं[७] विष्णुं श्रियमपि परित्यज्य सर्वं शून्यमिति वदति[८] तदा बौद्धाभिधानपाषण्डी ॥१५॥

वृथा धर्मं वदन्नर्थसाधनं लौकायतिकः पिण्डादयश्चोर[८] इति च ॥१६॥

सर्वमर्थार्थं करोत्यग्निहोत्रसन्ध्याजपादीन् ॥१७॥

स्वदोषं गूहितुं कामार्त्तं[९] वेदं पठति ॥१८॥

अग्निहोत्रादीन् करोति ॥१९॥

सुरापानार्थमहिलामेहनार्थं[१०] करोति ॥२०॥

विष्णवादयः सुरापानिन[११] इति कापालिकाः ॥२१॥

धर्मा[७क]र्थं मलपिण्डधारणाद्धर्मं वदति क्षपणकः ॥२२॥

शिवादय इति वदति क्षपणकः ॥२३॥

परापवादार्थं[१२] वेदशास्त्रधर्मादीन् पठति ॥२४॥

सर्वान्निन्दति ॥२५॥

महेश्वरविष्णवादीनपि ॥२६॥

सोऽप्यशनार्थं[१३] धर्मं वदति ॥२७॥

6. M W ०सनाद् । 7. W शिवा; M W वदन्ति । 8. M W *Sic* (read चौर्यम्?) 9. M *Sic* (read ०र्तः० or र्थं ?) 10. M W ०मेनार्थम् । 11. M सुरापिन । 12. W omits वेद । 13. W. ०र्थं ।

वदनार्थं परान् स्तौति स बौद्धः ॥२८॥

लौकायतिको मृतो भवत्यर्थकामधर्ममोक्षविहीनो नारकी च ॥२९॥

कुले च तत्कुलं[१४] तत्पुत्रपौत्रान्तरे विनश्यति ॥३०॥

कापाली स्वग्रामगृहस्वजनैः परित्यक्तः सर्वलोकनिन्दितो नारकी भवति ॥३१॥

तस्मिन्काल ए[७ख]व कुलं विनश्यति ॥३२॥

क्षपणकः स्वकुलग्रामवासिभिर्निन्दितो[१५] भवति[१६] त्रिकुलं[१७] विनश्यति ॥३३॥

बौद्धसंचितं[१८] कुलं पुत्रपौत्रकाले वा विनश्यति सुदुष्टो नारकी ॥३४॥

एवंपाषण्डिसंपर्कं[१९] मनसाऽपि न कुर्यात् ॥३५॥

सुव्यवस्थितमन्त्रेण[२०] परच्छिद्रज्ञानिना[२१] धार्मिकेण राज्यं परिपालयितुं न शक्यते ॥३६॥

ऐश्वर्यमदमत्तेन सलोभमानिना[२२] संचितं विनश्यति ॥३७॥

कार्यं निश्चित्य विषयाननुभवति यः स उत्तममर्थं साधयति ॥३८॥

चेष्टया कार्य[८क]ज्ञान्यर्थपर[२३] इति धर्मवानिति लोकैर्यथा न ज्ञायते तथा कर्त्तव्यम् ॥३९॥

14. M W तं । 15. W स्वगृहग्राम । 16. W जीवति । 17. W सतिकुलम् । 18. M W बौद्धः । 19. W ०पर्कं । 20. W सुव्यस्थि० । 21. M ज्ञातिना । 22. W ०नां । 23. W ०चर ।

ईश्वर इव[24] चन्द्रादित्याविव ॥४०॥

स्वामिचित्तानुवृत्तिभिर्मत्यैक्यकारकमेव[25] मन्त्रम् ॥४१॥

मन्त्रिणा स्वामिनोऽभिमतमुत्सृज्य कार्यं वक्तव्यम् ॥४२॥

नीतेः फलं धर्मार्थकामावाप्तिः[26][27] ॥४३॥

धर्मेण कामार्थौ परीक्ष्यौ ॥४४॥

धर्मं धर्मेण[28] ॥४५॥

अर्थमर्थेन ॥४६॥

कामं कामेन ॥४७॥

मोक्षं मोक्षेण ॥४८॥

गुरुशासनं कार्यमेव विरु[८ख]द्धं धर्मेणापि पाण्डवविवाह इव, अर्जुनस्य संन्यास इव, व्यासविधवागमनमिव, कर्णोत्पादनमिव, राममातृवधमिवेत्यादि ॥४९॥

नीतिवियुक्तः पुत्र इव शत्रुः ॥५०॥

बालं दुष्टं साहसिकमज्ञातशास्त्रमन्त्रे प्रवेशयेत्[29] ॥५१॥

मूढा दुराचारास्तीक्ष्णा आत्मबुद्धयः क्षिप्रक्रुद्धा बाला मन्त्रयोग्या न ॥५२॥

24. M अ for इव । 25. W मत्येक०, M ०भिः मत्यैक्य० । 26. W फण्डमर्थि० । 27. W ०माभित्तिः । 28. Sc. परीक्षयेत् and so with the accusatives in *sûtras* 46–8. 29. Text corrupt; W ०शास्त्रमन्त्रेण. Read ०शास्त्रं मन्त्रे न ?

सर्वरत्नान्यपि दीयन्तां स्वकार्यजीवयशोरक्षणे ॥५३॥

मन्त्रकाले न कोपयेत् ॥५४॥

धर्मप्रधानं पुरुषा[९क]र्थो[30] न ॥५५॥

अधर्मेण भुज्यमानं सुखमसुहृत् ॥५६॥

स्थितिर्वर्धनम्[31] ॥५७॥

अपथ्यभोजनो मृत्युभीतिकर इव सत्यव्रतः शास्त्रेषु निष्ठितः पुरुषः सागरमपि शोषयेत् ॥५८॥

क्रुद्धो यदि हतपौरुषास्त्रस्ता भवन्ति ॥५९॥

एक एव बहून् दुर्जनो[32] नाशयति ॥६०॥

पौरुषे निष्ठितो देवो ॥६१॥

यस्य[33] स्वदाररतिः यस्यात्मदमने शक्तिस्तेन सदृशो न ॥६२॥

सज्जनो न भयाद् व्यतिवर्तते[34] ॥६३॥

तस्मिन्काले हितमवक्तव्यमवाक्यज्ञैः सुहृद्भिः ॥६४॥

उत्सिक्तहृदयं धर्मे चलि[९ख]तगौरवमजितात्मानं शासितुं नोत्सहेत ॥६५॥

दारुणकर्मभिः श्रान्तमज्ञाननिद्रया[35] सुप्तं धर्मवाक्यानिलैः शीतैर्बालिशं प्रबोधयेत ॥६६॥

30. M W पुरुषार्थान् । 31. M W स्थिति । 32. W दुर्जनाम्ना० । 33. M निष्ठिते देवो यस्य, W देवो वयस्य. No interpuncuation in either case. 34. W ०तन्ते । 35. M शाम्तम् ।

दुर्जनमध्ये सूर्यवत् प्रकाशते सुजनः[36] ॥६७॥

अधर्मव्यवस्थितान्[37] न्यायवृत्तेन वारयेत् ॥६८॥

अधर्मं नार्जयेत् ॥६९॥

अकीर्तिं नार्जयेत् ॥७०॥

न मारयेत् ॥७१॥

बेला[38] निवार्यतां धर्मपाठाङ्कुशेन गज इव ॥७२॥

गुरुवचनमलङ्घनीयं नयानुगतं[39] चेत् ॥७३॥

गुरुमपि नीतिवियुक्तं निरासयेत् ॥७४॥

गुरुराहेति ॥७५॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे द्विती[१०क]योऽध्यायः ॥

36. W सुधर्मः । 37. M ०स्थिता । 38. M ०तामधर्० ।
39. W गतश्चे ।

[तृतीयोऽध्यायः ।]

जितक्लेशस्य पौरुषम् ॥१॥

देशान्तरवासेन जितक्लेशो भवति ॥२॥

सर्वबलकालदेशसामप्रकृतिसहायामवयसां ज्ञानं कार्यम् ॥३॥

उपवासादिसहिष्णुत्वं च ॥४॥

सुगन्धवासान् कोशान् कुर्यात् ॥५॥

बहुवादं मधुरमेव कुर्यात् ॥६॥

[1]शमबुद्धीन् मणीन् सर्वान् सदाराधयेत् ॥७॥

नवानि मन्त्राणि विद्यात् ॥८॥

त्रिविधानि शाक्ता वैष्णवा[2] शैवानि तत[१०ख]प्रभिन्नानि[3] ॥९॥

मोक्षपुर्या[4] द्वारं त्रयम् ॥१०॥

शाक्ता वैष्णवाः शैवाः ॥११॥

पोतयानमार्गवच्छाक्तम्[5] ॥१२॥

महापथवद्वैष्णवम् ॥१३॥

केवलप्रधानिकमश्वरथयानवत् ॥१४॥

1. W ०द्धिः; W read समबुद्धीन् । 2. *Sic* M W. 3. W here inserts च । 4. M ०पूर्वान् । 5. W om. शाक्तं and *sûtras* 13–15.

लौकायतिकक्षपणकबौद्धादि बहुशारदूलदुष्टमृगाकीर्णशून्या-
टवीगुहामार्गवत् ॥१५॥

एतत् निरूप्यैकमाश्रयेत्[6] ॥१६॥

ज्योतिर्नाथस्थितं सदा निरूपयेत् ॥१७॥

चातुर्वर्ण्यं रक्षेच्च ॥१८॥

औषधानि सेवेत च ॥१९॥

बलवर्णतेजोमदबुद्धिशौर्यदयावर्धनानि दोषधातुशमानि[7] ॥२०॥

दानमानालङ्कारविद्याभिः सिद्धिं लभेत ॥२१॥

अष्टादश तीर्थानि निरूपयेत् ॥२२॥

षट् प्रकृतयस्तीर्थं[8] शत्रुमित्रोदासीना[११क]श्च[9] ॥२३॥

अन्तः शत्रुरन्तर्मित्रो[10]ऽन्तरुदासीन इति[11] तेऽप्यनुजीविसखि-
सुहृदश्च ॥२४॥

भार्यापुत्रबान्धवाश्च ॥२५॥

अन्येऽपि देवालयनृत्तयागभूमिसन्ध्यावापीचतुष्पथपाषण-
डालया[12]पणबालविद्यापाठदेश[13]खलू[14]रीशालीचन्द्रदर्शना[15]द्युत्सववे-
श्यागृहसमुद्रतीरयतिसंनिधिराज्यसन्धिसुराविक्रय[16]स्थानपा-
[17]न्थनिवासाश्च ॥२६,२७॥

6. W ०श्राश्रयेत् । 7. M W ०समानि । 8. W ०यस्ते तीर्था: 19. M ०मित्रोदानां च । 10. W तरु० । 11. W here inserts च । 12. W ०सडयाल । 13. W पांदेश । 14. W omits लू । 15. M W चयड । 16. W च । 17. W पन्था ।

शृङ्गारवेषं कुर्यात् ॥२८॥

पुरद्वारे सर्वनिरोधनं कार्य्यम् ॥२९॥

सर्वांश्च[18] निशेध[११ख]येच्च ॥३०॥

इतिहासपुराणानि मानयेत् ॥३१॥

तत् पाकांश्च ॥३२॥

शास्त्रागमांश्च ॥३३॥

[19]वैखानसागमांश्च ॥३४॥

सांख्यांश्च ॥३५॥

शैवांश्च ॥३६॥

सर्वानपि स्वाध्यायं कुर्यात् कारयेच्च ॥३७॥

ब्राह्मणं न हन्याद्दोषदुष्टमपि ॥३८॥

निर्दयस्य[20] दया कर्तव्या ॥३९॥

ग्रामणीन् सम्भावयेत् ॥४०॥

नगरेन्द्राँ[21]श्च ॥४१॥

दुर्बलमपि साम[22] कुर्यात् ॥४२॥

दानेन बहु ॥४३॥

न स्वल्पश्च ॥४४॥

नोत्तमेषु गुणबाहुल्यक्रमेण ॥४५॥

18. W सर्वन् । 19. W omits न । 20. W ०स्या ।
21. W नृं । (for न्द्रां) । 22. W अपि स कु ।

अक्षैर्दीव्यात्[२३] ॥४६॥

नैव दीव्याच्च[२४] ॥४७॥

सर्पादीन् हन्यात् ॥४८॥

उत्तमाम्नानामन्त्रसिद्धान्[२५][१२क]विद्याबहुलान् द्विजान् मानयेत् ॥४९॥

अन्यराष्ट्रजान् द्विजान् क्षत्रबन्धून् कुमारसामन्तादीनात्मवत् सम्भावयेद्भोजनाच्छादनादिभिः[२६] ॥५०॥

शरणागतं सर्वपातकयुक्तमपि[२७] रक्षेत् ॥५१॥

दुष्टनिग्रहं कुर्यात् ॥५२॥

शिष्टपरिपालनञ्च ॥५३॥

ग्रामं न बाधेत ॥५४॥

नगरञ्च ॥५५॥

देवालयानि च ॥५६॥

आसवानि[२८] सेवयेत ॥५७॥

अति न ॥५८॥

मांसानि च ॥५९॥

घृणा कार्या ॥६०॥

23. W डि॰ । 24. *Sic* M W. 25. W नमन्त्र॰ । 26. M interpuncuates here and not after ॰नादिभिः । 27. W सर्वपटत॰ । 28. *Sic* W M (for ॰वान् ?)

बौद्धादयो न ॥६१॥

अग्राह्या न ॥६२॥

मत्तकाशिन्यः सेव्याः ॥६३॥

पञ्चाशत्कोटियोजना पृथिवी ॥६४॥

सप्तद्वीपवती च ॥६५॥

सप्तसमुद्रावृता च ॥६६॥

कर्मभोगाति[२९][१२ख]भोगदिव्यशृङ्गारसिद्धकैवल्या इति द्वीपाभिधानाः ॥६७॥

मध्यः कर्मभूमिः ॥६८॥

तन्मध्ये मेरोराजम्बूः[३०] ॥६९॥

तत्रोत्तरे हिमवान् ॥७०॥

तस्य दक्षिणे नवसाहस्री भूः ॥७१॥

तत्र दाक्षिणात्यो[३१] भारतः खण्डः ॥७२॥

तत्र साक्षाद्धर्माधर्मफलाः सिध्यन्ति ॥७३॥

तत्र दण्डनीतिः ॥७४॥

पूर्वभारतीयैःपठितव्यः भविष्यैर्वर्तमानैश्च चातुर्वर्णिकैश्च ॥७५॥

दण्डनीत्या भगवान् भानुर्नृपतिः[३२] ॥७६॥

29. W omits गा । 30. Corrupt, reading doubtful. 31. W ॰न्यो । 32. W ॰र्ति ।

वायुश्च सर्वे[३३] देवाश्च ॥७७॥

जन्तवश्च ॥७८॥

सहस्रयोजना बदरिकासेत्वन्ता ॥७९॥

द्वारकादिपुरुषोत्तम[१३क]सालग्रामान्ता सप्तशतयोजना[३४]॥८०॥

तत्रापि रैवतक[३५] विन्ध्यसह्यकुमारमलयश्रीपर्वतपारियात्राः सप्त-कुलाचला[३६]ः ॥८१॥

गङ्गासरस्वतीकालिन्दीगोदावरीकावेरीताम्रपर्णीघृतमाला[ः] कुलनद्यश्च ॥८२॥

अष्टादश विषयाश्च ॥८३॥

अष्टादश सागरा नृपाः ॥८४॥

अष्टादश पार्वतीयाः ॥८५॥

रामसृष्टिश्चत्वारिंशच्छतं दक्षिणोत्तरे आसह्य[३७] द्वादश विश्वा-मित्रसृष्टिरेकादश ॥८६॥

नेपालं[३८] चतुःशतम् ॥८७॥

पूर्वसमुद्रतीरे वरुणातःसमुद्रान्तमष्टयोज[१३ख]ना ॥८८॥

पञ्चशतद्वितयमुत्तरलाटं पूर्वलाटश्च ॥८९॥

काशीपाञ्चालद्वितयमशीतिः ॥९०॥

33. W सर्वे । 34. W ०नां । 35. W omits क । 36. W ०लां । 37. ०ह्या । 38. M omits ल; W has ०लश्च ।

केकयसृञ्जयं[३९] षाष्टिः ॥९१॥

मात्स्य[४०]मागधं[४१] शतम् ॥९२॥

मालवशकुन्तमशीतिः ॥९३॥

कोसलावन्तिःषाष्टिः ॥९४॥

सैह्य[४२] वैदर्भाद्वितयं शताद्वितयम् ॥९५॥

वैदेह[४३]कौरवं शतम् ॥९६॥

काम्बोजदशार्णमशीतिः ॥९७॥

एते महाविषयाः ॥९८।

एते खलु चतुरश्राः ॥९९॥

आरट्टबाह्लीकौ[४४] दक्षिणोत्तरतः[४५] शतमात्रौ पूर्वपश्चाद्[४६] द्वा-दशौ ॥१००॥

शाकसौराष्ट्रौ चतुरश्रौ चत्वारिंशत् ॥१०१॥

अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गा[१४क]ःशतमात्राश्चतुरश्राश्च[४७] ॥१०२॥

काश्मीरहूणाम्बष्ठसिन्धवः[४८] शतमात्राश्चतुरश्राश्च ॥१०३॥

किरातसौवीरचोलपाण्ड्या[४९] उत्तरे दक्षिणे स्थिताः शतात् परं षष्टिमात्राः[५०] ॥१०४॥

39. W ०य । 40. W माद्य० । 41. W ०तः । 42. *Sic.* 43. W ०घ । 44. W ०ह्लि० । 45. W ०त्तरः । 46. W ०पश्चा । 47. W ०श्रं । 48. W काश्मीहूणाम्बषुसिन० । 49. W किरामत० । 50. W ०त्रा ।

यादवका[51]ञ्चीविषयं[52] चत्वारिंशच्छतमात्रम् ॥१०५॥

एते उपविषयाः ॥१०६॥

सप्त[53]कोङ्कणाश्चतुःशतमात्रा द्वादश †षट्राष्ट्रौ†[54]च ॥१०७॥

एते अनूपाः[55] ॥१०८॥

सह्याद्रौ चत्वारो गिरिविषयाः ॥१०९॥

श्रीपर्वते द्वयम् ॥११०॥

रैवतक एकः[56] ॥१११॥

विन्ध्ये पञ्च ॥११२॥

कुमारे एकम् ॥११३।

[१४ ख]महेन्द्रे त्रयम् ॥११४॥

पारियात्रे त्रयम् ॥११५॥

सर्वे दक्षिणोत्तरतः पञ्चाशन्मात्राः[57] पूर्वतःपश्चात् पञ्च-योजनाः समाः ॥११६॥

म्लेच्छे यवनविषयाः पार्वतीयाः ॥११७॥

[58]ग्रामनगरोद्यानादिभिरलंकृताः पुण्यक्षेत्रादिभिश्च ॥११८॥

अष्ट वैष्णवक्षेत्राः[59] ॥११९॥

51. W omits ञ्ची । 52. W ०य । 53. W स्त० । 54. W च षट्ष्टौ च । 55. W आनु० । 56. W एकाः, M एका । 57. W पश्चश्० । 58. W ग्रामोह रो० । 59. *Sic* (Masc.) here and in the *sūtras* 122, 125. 60. W ०नन्तं सिं० ।

बदरिकासालग्रामपुरुषोत्तमद्वारकाविलवाचलानन्तसिंह[60] श्री-रङ्गाः ॥१२०॥

अष्टौ शैवाः ॥१२१॥

[61]अविमुक्त[क]गङ्गाद्वारशिवक्षेत्ररामेयमुनाशिवसरस्वतीमव्य-शार्दूलगजक्षेत्राः[62] ॥१२२॥

शाक्ता अ[१५ क]ष्टौ च ॥१२३॥

[63]†ओघ्घीण†जालपूर्णकामकोष्ठश्रीशैलकाञ्चीमहेन्द्राः ॥१२४॥

एते महाक्षेत्राः[64] ॥१२५॥

सर्वसिद्धिकराश्च ॥१२६॥

वन्ध्याश्च[65] ॥१२७॥

विन्ध्ये नित्यं वसति[66] दुर्गा भद्रकाली च ॥१२८॥

कुमारे कुमारो वसति नित्यं ॥१२९॥

सह्ये गणपतिः ॥१३०॥

रैवतके[67] शास्ता ॥१३१।

महेन्द्रे गरुडः ॥१३२॥

पारियात्रे क्षेत्रपालः ॥१३३॥

कर्मभूमौ भारते मनुष्यैर्बहवो देवाः ॥१३४॥

61. W अविमुक्तस्तगङ्गा० । 62. W ०त्रा (masc. as in 119). 63. W दण्डी० । 64. *Sic* (masc.) 65. *Sic* (for बन्धाश्च ?) 66. M वसतिर् । 67. W रैवते ।

सुरासुरयक्षराक्षसभूतप्रेतविनायककूश्माण्डा विकृताननाः ॥१३५॥

निरूढा भारवेषाः ॥१३६॥

सौम्यभैरवा योगिन्यश्च नागाश्च[१५ ख]मानवैः सह रूपरमा असंख्याताः संचरन्ति ॥१३७॥

मानवैः कृतपालनाश्च ॥१३८॥

तस्मिन्नमृतमया औषधाः[६८] सन्ति ॥१३९॥

अत्र युगसंख्या कृतत्रेताद्वापरतिष्याश्च[६९] ॥१४०॥

कृते ज्ञानिनः ॥१४१॥

दण्डनीतिकोविदाः[७०] ॥१४२॥

त्रेतायां कार्मिणः नीतिविशारदाः ॥१४३॥

द्वापरे तान्त्रिकानुसारा[७१] घनारसाश्च ॥१४४॥

नीतिकोविदाश्च ॥१४५॥

तिष्ये पादे ज्ञानकर्मा[७२] घना दण्डनीतिकोविदा नराः ॥१४६॥

तदुत्तरं विरुद्धधर्मवर्णवेषा दण्डनीतिवर्जिताः ॥१४७॥

पश्यन्ति प्रजा अनृतवादतत्पराश्चेत्याह[१६ क]आचार्यः[७३] ॥१४८॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

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68. *Sic* (masc.) 69. W ०द्वापरि० । 70. W here inserts नराः । 71. *Sic* (read ०न ?) 72. *Sic* (read ०म ?) 73. ०र्याः ।

[चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ।]

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्त उत्थानम् ॥१॥

धर्ममर्थञ्च चिन्तयेत् ॥२॥

कुक्कुटशब्दं[१] शुभम् ॥३॥

गजादिदर्शनञ्च ॥४॥

गजशब्दमङ्गलस्तुतिवेदपाठनञ्च ॥५॥

देवतापुण्यकथा च ॥६॥

राजन्यस्मरणञ्च ॥७॥

नेत्राञ्जनञ्च ॥८॥

आदर्शदर्शनञ्च ॥९॥

अलङ्कारयेत् ॥१०॥

ताम्बूलचर्वणं च ॥११॥

कर्पूरचन्दनागरुधूपञ्च ॥१२॥

शाङ्खकाहलविषाणा[२]च्छिन्नवेणुवीणातन्त्री[३] मृदङ्गपणवाः ॥१३॥

तूर्यघोषाश्च[४] ॥१४॥

दिव्यप्रमदादर्शनं च ॥१५॥

[१६ ख]मागधभिन्नषड्जं च ॥१६॥

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1. W कुक्कुटे शब्दम् (*Sic* neut.) 2. M ०निषाणा० । 3. M W ०तण्डी० । 4. W ०षश्च् ।

जातिस्वरं च ॥१७॥

सर्पिषि सितपुष्पाणि ॥१८॥

मन्त्रतृप्तो वह्निः शतार्चिर्विष्णुलिङ्गधूमयुक्तो भवति ॥१९॥

तदशुभं गवां संदर्शनम्[५] ॥२०॥

गृध्रसंदर्शनं च ॥२१॥

सन्ध्याज्वलनं च ॥२२॥

विरुद्धशिवारुतं च ॥२३॥

क्रव्यादमृगाणां शब्दो ग्रामपुरद्वारे वा श्रूयते ॥२४॥

देवताप्रतिमास्वेदश्[६]च यस्मिन्दृश्यते तत्र प्रायश्चित्तमन्यत्र यानमेव प्रतिकारो ना[७]स्ति ॥२५॥

[८]अवश्यनिरूपणीयान्येतानि कर्माणि ॥२६॥

मन्त्रमू[१.७ क]लो विजयः ॥२७॥

त्रिविधाः पुरुषाः उत्तमाधममध्यमाः ॥२८॥

मन्त्रे[९]ऽपि ॥२९॥

बन्धुभिर्बान्धवैर्हितैर्बहुश्रुतैर्धीरैः सह यत् कर्मारभते तदुत्तमम् ॥३०॥

धर्मे[१०]द्विविधे गुरौ भक्तिश्च ॥३१॥

[११]अर्थपरैः सह मन्त्रयित्वा य आरभते स उत्तमः ॥३२॥

5. W ०शानश्च । 6. W ०सेदश् । 7. W ०स्ती । 8. W अवश्यभि० । 9. W मन्त्रो । 10. W here inserts देव । 11. W अद्ध० ।

गुणदोषागमं निश्चित्य मौर्ख्य[१२]बाहुल्याद् य आरभते सोऽधमः ॥३३॥

ऐकमत्येन दण्डनीतिनेत्रेण धीरैर्मन्त्रिभिर्योमन्त्रः स उत्तमः ॥३४॥

पूर्वं बहुबुद्धयः पश्चादेकमतयो भवन्ति यत्र स मध्यमः ॥३५॥

[१.७ख]यत्र कलहम्[१३]भर्त्सनं[१४] च एकस्य धर्म एकस्यार्थे स्त्रीबालवृद्धैः सह एकस्य रुदितमेकस्यक्रोधो यस्मिन् सोऽधमः ॥३६॥

पूर्वं स्वामिना कार्यनिवेदनम् ॥३७॥

पुनर्वचसा कर्मणा मनसाञ्जलिना दण्डप्रणामेन[१५] यथागुरुत्वं स्वामिनमभिवन्दयेत् ॥३८॥

वृद्धो वैश्रवणो वाचस्पतिर्वा यस्यान्नं[१६] नाभुञ्जते तं वन्देत् ॥३९॥

यत्पुनर्यथाक्रममेकैकस्य मतं श्रोतव्यम् ॥४०॥

स्वामिनं प्रसाद्य कार्यं कल्पयितव्यम् ॥४१॥

पूर्वं स्वामि[१.८क]गुणं संकीर्त्य स्वामिदोषं परदोषं च [१७]मध्यस्थदोषं[१७] च मन्त्रयित्वा पुनः स्वामिगुणसंस्थापनं कुर्यात् ॥४२॥

12. M मौर्ख्यात् बाहुलाद्या; W मौर्ख्या बाहुलाद्या । 13. *Sic* (neut.) 14. W भर्त्सनम् । 15. M ०णामौ; see, intraduction notes, at the end. 16. M यस्यां ना । 17–17. W omits.

पुनः कार्याण्युपायानि[18] निरूप्य स्वामिनं प्रसाद्य कार्यं कल्पयितव्यम् ॥४३॥

प्रमत्तेष्वभियुक्तेषु दैवोपहतेषु च न सिध्यन्ति विक्रमाः ॥४४॥

अप्रमत्तं धर्मज्ञं[19] जितेन्द्रियं विजिगीषु बलिषु जातकोपं दुराधर्षं प्रति विक्रमो न कार्यः[20] ॥४५॥

शास्त्रवित् कथं कार्यं न प्रजानातीति न वदेत्[21] ॥४६॥

बलिष्ठान् शत्रून् कामादीन् ये जयन्ति ते सर्वानरीञ्जयन्ति ॥४७॥

[१८ख] पूर्वमुपकारं न कारयेत् ॥४८॥

उपकारं नियतं[22] कुर्याच्च ॥४९॥

नाभाविव्यसनं पूर्वं ज्ञात्वा व्यसनप्रतीकारं[23] कार्यमिति गुरुराह ॥५०॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ।

18. *Sic* (neut.) M W. 19. W ०ज्ञ । 20. W ०र्याः । 21. M interpuncuates not here, but after शत्रून् । 22. W omits त । 23. *Sic* (neut.)

[पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।]

चत्वार उपायाः ॥१॥

त्रयश्च ॥२॥

मायोपेक्षा वधश्च[1] ॥३॥

सूरीषु साम[2] ॥४॥

शङ्कितेषु सामभेदौ ॥५॥

लुब्धेषु सामदानभेदाः ॥६॥

कष्टेषु सामभेददानमायोपेक्षावधाः ॥७॥

साम पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥८॥

[१९क] मनसोऽभिप्रायं[3] वाचः प्रीतिकर्म च ॥९॥

ज्ञातीनां ज्ञातयो व्यसने हृष्यन्ति ॥१०॥

ज्ञातिं ज्ञातयः प्रच्छन्नहृदयाः[4] क्रूरा उपद्रवन्ति ॥११॥

सर्वभयेषु[5] ज्ञातिभयं घोरम् ॥१२॥

गोषु पयः ब्राह्मणे कोपश्च[6] ॥१३॥

स्त्रीषु चापलं दूरत्वं ज्ञातिषु सौहृदं पत्रजलबिन्दुवत्[7] ॥१४॥

हितं[8] गुरुजनवाक्यं शास्त्रचोदितं च ये न शृण्वन्ति कालचोदिताः तस्मात् तान् सुपरिहृत्यान्यत्र वसेत् ॥१५॥

1. W ०शश् । 2. W ०मः । 3. *Sic* (neut.) 4. W ०न्नयां । 5. W स्स । 6. W तपश् । 7. W पद्मपत्र० । 8. M एकं

लोकविरुद्धं नाचरेत् ॥१६॥

मन्त्र[9][१९ ख]विद्यागुह्यपदमेषु ग्रहान् बान्धवान् कुशलादन्यत्र न कार्यं व्यसनानि च[10] ॥१७॥

दुर्जनं परिहृत्य वक्तव्यं विद्यायुक्तोऽपि ग्रहाहिरिव[11] ॥१८॥

शत्रुपक्षादागतं न विश्वसेत् ॥१९॥

गुणतः संगृह्णीयात्[12] ॥२०॥

भावैः परीक्षयेत् ॥२१॥

[13]वैरिणसारैः सह साम[13] ज्ञायते बुद्धिमविज्ञाते सहसा परीक्ष[२० क]येत् ॥२२॥

इङ्गितैर्ज्ञातुं[14] शक्यते ॥२३॥

प्रसन्नो न ॥२४॥

अशङ्कितमाति[ः]स्वस्थः ॥२५॥

अकोपनश्च बालादयोऽपि विद्रवन्ति[15] हि तम्[16] ॥२६॥

9. W मन्त्रमवि० । 10. Text corrupt in this *Sûtra* ? 11. गृहानिर् । 12. W here inserts दोषो न निरूप्य संगृह्णीयात् । 13–13. W वीरान्न । रूरैस्सहसा मा Read वीरोऽसारैः सहसा म ? For ण् and औ (ओ) see introduction's end. 14. ०तै । 15. W विव्र० । 16. M तत् ।

स्वकुलस्य विनाशं[17] ज्ञात्वा बुद्धिमाँस्तत्र शत्रुपक्षमपि न युक्तमाश्रयेत्[18] ॥२७॥

हृदये यथावच्छुभाशुभं पूर्वं उदेति[19] न दुष्टाचारः सर्वत्र कारयेत् ॥२८॥

चपला न बहुमान्याः ॥२९॥

इत्याहाचार्यो बृहस्पतिः ॥३०॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।

17. ०लस्यापि न० । 18. Read नययुक्तम् ? 19. W उदयति ।

[षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।]

[२०ख]देशकालयोग्यं कर्म नयानयौ च वेदयेत् ॥१॥

विपरीतं न वेदवीर्यदर्पेण ॥२॥

हितानि निरूपयेत् ॥३॥

नमो मन्त्रिभिर्निरूप्य कार्यते ॥४॥

बुद्धिजीवनैरमात्यैः सह कार्यमकार्यं[1] च निरूपयेत् ॥५॥

आहितं विकारं[2] यस्य प्रतिभाति स मन्त्रयोग्यः ॥६॥

अर्थमार्जयेत् ॥७॥

यस्यार्थराशिरस्ति तस्य मित्राणि धर्मश्च विद्या च गुणविक्रमौ च बुद्धिश्च ॥८॥

अधनेना[२१क]र्थमार्जयितुं न शक्यते गजो[3]ऽगजेनेव ॥९॥

धनमूलं जगत् ॥१०॥

सर्वाणि तत्र सन्ति ॥११॥

निर्धनो मृतश्चण्डालश्च ॥१२॥

एवं धर्ममूलं च विद्यामार्जयेत् ॥१३॥

विद्यामूलं जगत् ॥१४॥

विद्या पुनः सर्वमित्याह गुरुः ॥१५॥

इति बार्हस्पत्यसूत्रे षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।

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1. W कार्यक्० । 2. Read अहितमपि कार्यम् । 3. M गजं ग०, W ०जंग

BRIHASPATI SÛTRA

Now the *Brihaspati Sûtra.*

Now Brihaspati,* the Preceptor, expounds to India the Whole Substance of Policy :

I (PERSONAL CONDUCT)

1 Self-mastery is the quality of a king.

2 As minister he should appoint one master of himself.

3 His sole science is the Administration of Punishment [= Government].

4 Even right he should not practise when disapproved by the world.

5 Should he practise it, it should be after recommending it by persons of intelligence.

6 He is to be served by his like.

7 With women, children or the aged, he should not discuss measures of right and policy.

8 He should not engage in magic shows [*indrajâla*];

9 In incantations [*mantras*], however, and festivities;

10 Also in counteracting diseases and poisonings.

11 Not smearing with ashes [like an ascetic].

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*Concerning Brihaspati as founder of the Science of Policy see the Introduction.

3 On the question of the king's sciences see *Arthashastra*, c. 1.

6 On this question of choice of ministers etc. see *Arthashastra*, cc. 4-5; also 80 *infra.*

10 On poison in the palace see *Arthashastra*, c. 17.

12 Also not sacrifice [*agnihotra*], Veda-reading, and so forth.

13 Not processions to sacred places.

14 Also not service of a king.

15 Nor service of women.

16 He should not drink intoxicants.

17 Nor slay a Brâhman.

18 Nor practise theft.

19 Nor much indulge in garlands and unguents.

20 He should not be dejected.

21 Nor over-wrathful.

22 What is called non-giving is greed on a wrong occasion.

23 In a (true) field he should have seed sown.

24 Giving should be practised.

25 Aversion therefrom is greed.

26 Theft is also greed.

27 Pleasure is a cause of expenditure of means.

28 A will to hurt gurus, gods, wise men, kings, and so forth is anger,

29 And it is a smiting of one's own head.

30 An enemy equal in forces and so forth he should slay in war;

31 Other adversaries [*or* If attacking others, then] by conciliation, gifts, dissension, pretended ignoring, and so on.

32 He should not have sordid dress.

22 Text and translation uncertain. More intelligible would be *avishaye danam*... 'giving on a wrong occasion is called non-giving.'

31 I translate *anyabhiyodhinah*.

32 So he should never be in deshabille.

33 And he should not practise over-indulgence in hunting.

34 From over attachment to women ill-repute grows;

35 And vitality wastes.

36 In association with those guilty of gaming, provoking others, abusing others, the weaknesses of others (are exposed) along with the words of *mantras* in learned or frivolous play (?).

37 Taking of medicine, evacuation of urine and faeces, bathing, teeth-cleaning, enjoyment of copulation, worship of divinities,–these also are to be done in private.

38 A sham professor of virtue he should not trust;

39 Nor censure either.

40 Nor upon seeing mad or stupid persons, and so forth, should he laugh at them.

41 His sport in private should be with those of like character and age.

42 Elephant and horse sports in public; not with creatures of two (different) kinds.

43 And he should not harm living beings of his own kind.

44 Desire should be felt for superiority to prede-

36 Rendering conjectural. Are the *mantras* quasi oaths ?

40 So also in the *Shukra-niti* III. 230 'The miserable, the blind, the dwarf, and the dumb are never to be laughed at.'

42 Contests of dissimilar animals are here, it seems, denounced. Or we might take *rahasye* from 41 and, reading *tadvimûrtam*, render 'Elephant and horse sports in private; in public those with other species.' This is less likely.

cessors and successors in respect of wealth, popularity, nobility, and magnanimity.

45 Traditional right, goodwill of dependents, and councillors, relatives, friends, kinsmen, he should all alike consider;

46 In respect of dependents, punishment and largesse, within and without;

47 In respect of councillors, conciliation, dissension, and largesse;

48 In respect of relatives, allotments of income for the sake of conciliation, dissension, largesse.

49 To even an unwelcome speech he should listen.

50 In bad weather, when the planets are hostile, at the *nakshatra* of three birthdays, and when serious business presents itself he should not attend to festivities.

51 He should attach to himself a wife of the same country, of the same form, and of noble birth.

52 He should cause especially dissensions (among the wives); excessive conciliation, excessive largesse are not to be practised, nor punishment to be used towards women, nor pretended inobservance.

53 Among them he should not say much.

54 Among village petitioners, panegyrists, bards, minstrels, actors, dancing-women, instructors, liars, boys, pimps, traders, herdsmen, harlots, mean kings, he is to be addressed in pompous untruths.

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46 'Within and without' : sc. the capital.

50 'Three birthdays' : perhaps his own, that of his father, and that of his grandfather.

51 'Of the same form' (*ekarupini*) : perhaps = 'of the same caste' (*ekavarna*).

55 Association with kings, harlots, soothsayers, and dependents he should not indulge in long.

56 He should frequent one whose superiority is in himself;

57 Prospects and so forth [he should regard] not overmuch.

58 Those attached to women, gambling, drinking he should not have in his service.

59 During five *nâdikâs* prayer to the divinity of his choice; that passed, the audience;

60 During ten *nâdikâs* administration of justice; during five *nâdikâs* the bath;

61 During three *nâdikâs* the repast;

62 During five *nâdikâs* amusement and play with dear ones;

63 During two *nâdikâs* twilight worship;

64 During seven *nâdikâs* nautch and so forth;

65 During seven *nâdikâs* sexual intercourse, repast, and so forth;

66 During seven *nâdikâs* sleep.

67 He should rule himself without failure of vigilance;

68 Like the driver of a horse.

69 High Brâhmans [he should greet] with a shake of his head, welcome and giving of leavings and betel;

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56 Or 'his own lord.'

59-66 On the disposition of a king's time see *Arthashastra*, c. 16, and Prof. Formichi, *Gli Indiani* &c., pp 66 sqq. *A nadika* = ½ *muhurta* = 24 minutes.

68 'Shaking of the head' : on this as a sign of approval see the passages quoted by me in *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* ad v. I.

70 A mean Brâhman not with a shake of the head, even if he brings a present;

71 A like prince or emperor with welcome, with a seat, with a shake of the head, with gift of betel and with jocular talk;

72 Men of the three castes with a smile, with welcome, and audience (?);

73 Shûdras not with a glance or smile nor with welcome;

74 Children, the aged, and so forth, with giving of something which they like;

75 Low-caste [Foreign ?] people and heretics not even with an utterance.

76 Owing to importance of business he may have recourse to them;

77 Let him say little, however, and assign the employment.

78 Let him not accept fine gold [*or* receive men of the (3) castes] in private.

79 With workmen, even in his employ, let him not deliberate upon the task.

80 With his friends let him choose a like friend as councillor;

81 But if low-born, he must be one having not low-born caste.

82 Low-born persons have the characteristic of not mentioning their own objects and of executing orders.

83 So he should not over-cherish them.

84 Nor again should he trust them.

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72 'Audience': I translate *asthânena*, but the text is corrupt.
78 *Varnika-parigraha* : Read *varnika-parigraha* ?
79 'Even in his employ' : so translate *yoginah* ?

85 Knowing all, he need not act.

86 Secrecy in regard to right, secrecy in regard to home and going abroad, secrecy in regard to measures, secrecy in regard to enmities; in failure of prestige he should deny even the truth.

87 Physicians, astrologers, soothsayers he should entertain, if possessed of conduct and character.

88 Even the truth, if causing grief or misfortune, he should not speak.

89 Up to twenty-five years he should passionately practise the study of sport.

90 Thenceforward acquisition of wealth.

91 He should keep himself free from indebtedness.

92 Indebted he becomes by three means, pleasure, anger, and greed.

93 And he should continually guard his person.

94 He should not neglect the regular rites.

95 If there is a popular clamour, he may omit a minor rite.

96 Upon a lost cause let him not stand;

97 Far to be avoided then is even a serious matter of sovereignty.

98 He should not favour new commanders who are *Kusumântas*.

99 A slight loss is to be borne.

100 As with familes of elephants, bandits, noxious serpents, and tigers living in forest or cemetery among

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98 *Kusumantas* : this word, which recurs in *sutra* 105, is quite mysterious (? = *Pallava*, or *pallava*, i.e. *vita* ?).

99 The meaning seems to be that a commander should not be dismissed for a slight failure.

100 The idea seems to be that of the nursery rhyme

those who in comparison therewith are inoffensive feuds of kinsmen are not to be engaged in.

101 Like dogs with one piece of flesh is that estate of sovereignty, when the sovereignty is in trouble.

102 Policy truly is like a tree on a river's bank.

103 So he is not to desire [it].

104 *Kusumântas* and so forth are inimical to all creatures.

105 Prestige, vigour, vitality, greatness—these are destroyed by excessive cultivation of *Kusumântas*.

106 Desire, anger, conceit, jealousy, hypocricy, and so forth he should not encourage.

107 An enemy of good character is a friend.

108 Among friends one of good character is an enemy.

109 Between moon and sun there is hostility by reason of their common brightness (tastes):

110 Were it not so, they would both stand fast.

111 Where there is feud among relatives, those two families perish to the root.

112 Whoso abandons the science of awarding punishment, helpless he like a moth enters the flame all unwittingly.

So speaks the holy Preceptor, guru of the chief of the Gods.

So in the *Brihaspati Sûtra* the First Chapter.

'Let dogs delight &c.'. With the reading *okule* we should render 'he dwells as it were in a family...

101 *Shvna* 'dog' probably means more exactly 'pack of dogs' : cf. *a shva* and Panini IV. 2. 48.

109, 110 We might translate 'If between sun and moon there were hostility ..., they would not continue'.

II (DUTIES AND PRINCIPLES)

1 Sovereignty belongs to one possessing advantages.

2 There is advantage of knowledge, advantage of wealth, and advantage of comrades :

3 Gratification of his own family also and protection of usage;

4 Agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade.

5 Universally the Lokâyata system of doctrine is alone to be followed at the time of acquiring gain;

6 Only the Kâpâlika as regards attainment of pleasure;

7 The Ârhata in regard to right.

8 The Lokâyata is not really profitable (?); the advantage quickly perishes.

9 So the Kâpâlika, the Ârhata, and the Bauddha.

10 On these relying, he is like the moth and the fire.

11 The fruits are like ear-water [*or* water in the ear ?].

---

1 *Guna* is here used in an untechnical sense ('strong point').

4 The *Arthashastra* mentions (c. 1) the same three matters (*krishi*, *pashupalya*, and *banijya*) as the components of *vartta*, or business, one of the studies of a king.

5 The *Lokayata* doctrine, along with *Sankhya* and *Yoga*, makes up the triad of philosophy in the *Arthashastra* (c. 1).

6 Elsewhere the Kapalikas are a Shaiva sect : see the St Petersburg lexicon and reff.

8–35 These *Sutras*, which seem at variance with the preceding, and which betray a strong sectarian bias, may be suspected of being an interpolation. No. 36 joins on well to No.7.

11 'Ear-water' : is this a synonym of 'sky-flower, &c. = 'nonentity' ? or 'water in the ear' (sc. not in the mouth *or* only heard of) ?

12 When one characterized by ignorance desires in a matter connected with right to effect a human object, then he is a heretic entitled Laukâyatika.

13 When a Candâla is desirous of enjoying fine drink, flesh, and so forth, then he is a heretic entitled Kâpâlika.

14 When abandoning twilight worship and so forth, sacrifice and so forth, he desires the duty of non-killing, then he is a Kshapanaka heretic.

15 When, abandoning the rites described in the Veda, and knowledge of them, also Shiva, the Lord of All, Vishnu, and Shri, a man declares that all is void, then he is a heretic entitled Bauddha.

16 When he declares right to be vain, a means to gain, he is a Laukâyatika; and he declares that the *pinda* and so on are theft.

17 He does all for profit,—sacrifice, twilight prayer, and so forth.

18 To conceal his failing, one afflicted with desire studies the Veda;

19 He performs sacrifices and so forth:

20 He does it with a view to drinking wine, with a view to intercourse with women.

21 He says Vishnu and the others are wine-drinkers —so the Kâpâlika.

14 *Kshapanaka:* = Jaina.

15 'Knowledge': read *karmajatam* 'mass of rites'?

16 *Pinda:* the reference seems to be to the food offered to the dead: the custom was ridiculed by the followers of Brihaspati, as appears from the Carvaka, or Lokayata, chapter in the *Sarva-darshana-samgraha.*

22 The Kshapanaka, aiming at right, speaks of right as depending on the bearing of rags and broom :

23 He speaks of Shiva and so on,—so the Kshapanaka.

24 With a view to abuse of others he studies Veda, *Shâstra*, right and so forth:

25 He reproaches all;

26 Even Maheshvara, Vishnu and so forth;

27 He slso speaks of right with a view to eating;

28 For the sake of discussion he praises others—this is the Bauddha.

29 The Laukâyatika, when dead, is a denizen of hell, extern to profit, pleasure, right, and liberaton.

30 And the same applies to his family ; that family perishes within the period of sons and grandsons.

31 The Kâpâlî, abandoned by his village, household, and relatives, becomes a denizen of hell, denounced by all people :

32 And at that very time his family perishes.

33 The Kshapanaka is denounced by his family, and those who live in the village, and three families perish.

34 The Bauddha becomes a very detested denizen of hell; and his existing family perishes, or in the time of sons and grandsons.

35 Connection with heretics of this sort he should not have, even in thought.

36 Even by one whose counsels are well ordered,

22 The "broom" is the brush of twigs which the Jain ascetics carry in order to brush away insects.

34 The Sanskrit sentence is here confused : but the meaning is clear.

36 [Not] : we may, if we prefer, read *adharmikena.* This *Sutra* connects well with No. 7.

who discerns the weak points of others, and who is [not ?] a man of virtue, sovereignty cannot be preserved.

37 One infatuated with the conceit of power, filled with greed and pride, loses what has been acquired.

38 Whoso, after reflecting upon his measures, enjoys himself, he achieves the highest success.

39 He must so do that by his action he is not known by the world as 'knowing what to do, bent upon profit,' or as 'a man of righteousness':

40 Like Ishvara, like Moon and Sun.

41 Counsel is the action of effecting unity of opinion on the part of persons conforming to a master's mind.

42 A councillor must speak of measures, regardless of his master's preference.

43 The fruit of policy is attainment of right, advantage, and plesure.

44 Pleasure and advantage are to be tested by right;

45 Right by right;

46 Advantage by advantage;

47 Pleasure by pleasure;

48 Liberation of the soul by liberation.

49 Injunction of a guru is to be executed, even when at variance with right, as the marriage of the Pândavas, Arjuna's asceticism, Vyâsa's intercourse with a widow, the begetting of Karna, Râma's punishment of a mother and so on.

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40 'Like Ishvara': his motives must be inscrutable.

49 The references are to well-known stories in the *Mahabharata.*

50 Even a son, at variance with policy, is an enemy.

51 The young, the vicious, reckless, unacquainted with *shâstras*, he should not admit to counsel.

52 Dull-witted, immoral, violent, thoughtless, irascible, foolish young men are not to be employed in counsel.

53 Let all jewels even be given to preserve one's own purpose, life, and prestige.

54 During counsel he should not not evoke anger.

55 Right is the main factor; not personal objects,

56 Happiness unrighteously enjoyed is no friend.

57 Maintenance of position is [*or* and] enhancement.

58 Like one who eats what is not wholesome but is on good terms with [*or* as taking a precaution against, *Pratîkâra*] death,

A man true to his word, relying upon the *Shâstras*, might even dry the ocean.

59 If he is angry [his dependents] become discouraged and timid.

60 One bad man ruins many.

61 Fate depends upon manhood.

---

51 We translate *mantre na praveshayet.*

53 The 'jewels' are the various 'treasures' of a king, his wife, minister, general and so forth.

57 I tranalate *sthitir vardhanam* : reading *sthstivardhanam*, we might render '[he should aim at] enhancement of his actual position' or '...conservation and enhancement.'

58 The idea may be that of fortifying oneself against poison.

61 A common sentiment : *cf. Shukra-niti*, 1.95-6

62 Whoso loves his own wife and in taming himself has capacity, is without equal.

63 A good man turns not aside through fear.

64 What at that time is proper is not to be spoken by friends not conversant with matters of speech.

65 One of arrogant heart, lost to respect for right, not self-controlled, he could not admonish.

66 when exhausted with frightful acts, sunk in the sleep of ignorance, he should enlighten the fool with the cool airs of righteous speeches.

67 Among bad men a good man shines forth like the sun.

68 Those committed to unrighteousness he should check by proper conduct.

69 In unrighteousness he should not involve himself.

70 In ill-repute he should not involve himself.

71 He should not slay.

72 Let a fool be restrained, like an elephant, with the hook of righteous reading.

73 A guru's word is not to be transgressed, if in accordance with reason.

74 Even a guru, if not equipped with policy, he should disregard.

75 A guru says it.

So in the *Brihaspati Sûtra* the Second Chapter.

III (VIDYÂ).

1 Manliness is the quality of one superior to weakness.

2 One becomes superior to weakness by residence in other countries.

3 Of all powers, times, countries, conciliations, natures, strengths, exercises, ages knowledge is to be acquired :

4 Also endurance of fasting and so forth.

5 He should make treasures with fragrances and robes.

6 A long conversation he should hold only if a gracious one.

7 All his like-minded 'jewels' he should ever seek to please.

8 He should know new mantras :

9 These are threefold : Shâkta, Vaishnava, Shaiva and their further divisions.

10 Entrance to the city of Liberation is by three:

11 Shâkta, Vaishnava, Shaiva.

12 The Shâkta is like a journey in a vessel;

13 The Vaishnava like a high road ;

14 That which believes in *Kevala* and *Pradhâna* is like a horse chariot ;

15 The Laukâyatika, Kshapanaka, Bauddha and so forth are like a cavernous route through a desolate forest swarming with many tigers and malignant beasts.

9—16 Again apparently a sectarian inserton : cf. *ad* II. 8, III. 33.

14 This is the Shaiva system : see *Sarvadarshana samgraha*, c. VI.

16 Having marked this, let him have recourse to one.

17 Let him ever mark the aspect of the lord of lights (the moon ?).

18 And let him defend the order of four castes.

19 And let him make use of medicines ;

20 These which fortify strength, complexion, energy, self-esteem, intelligence, courage, compassion, and reduce the faulty humours.

21 Let him procure success by gifts, honours, ornaments, and sciences.

22 Let him watch the eighteen *Tirthas.*

23 *Tirthas* are the six constituents of royalty, also enemy, friend, and neutral :

24 Also intestine enemy, intestine friend, intestine neutral; and these are dependents, companions, and friends.

25 Also wives, sons, and kinsmen.

26 Others also [to be watched] are temples, places for dances and.

27 sacrifices, twilight, pools, cross-roads, heretic abodes, shops, schools for the young, parade-grounds, fields, new-moon etc. festivals, harlots' houses, the sea-shore, presence of ascetics, frontiers, places for sale of liquor, serais for travellers.

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22 *Tirtha* : a technical term in the Science of Policy for the important personalities in the kingdom. The use is somewhat peculiar in 23.

23 The constituents (*prakriti*), as usually enumerated, are king, minister, country, fortress, treasury, army, and friend: see *Arthashastra*, c. 93, and Formichi, *op. cit*, p. 92.

27 'Twilight-pools' would be places for performing twilight worship.

28 Let him have festive attire.

29 At the city gate let there be a general stoppage.

30 However, let him not exclude all.

31 Let him honour *Itihâsas* and *Purânas* ;

32 And expositions thereof :

33 And the *Shâkta* scriptures :

34 And the *Vaikhânasa* scriptures ;

35 And the *Sânkhya* ;

36 And the *Shaiva*.

37 As regards all these, let him perform and require the due study.

38 A Brâhman let him not slay, even if infected with faults.

39 To the unmerciful [no] mercy should be shown.

40 Let him show respect to village headmen ;

41 Also to city magnates.

42 Let him conciliate even the weak.

43 By largesse much :

44 Not also with little.

45 In the case of excellent persons not in the order of the plenitude of their merits.

46 Let him play with dice :

47 Also [Or] let him not play at all.

48 Serpents and so forth let him slay.

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32 'Expositions' : The word *paka* would seem to be a synonym for *pakti* in *janapakti*, *lokapakti* 'teaching the people' : see *Shatapatha-Brahmana* XI. 5. 7. 1.

33—7 These *sutras* are perhaps again an insertion : see Introduction and *ad* II. 8, III. 9.

39 Or "no mercy (*adaya*).

49 High Brâhmans, perfected by various *mantras* and rich in knowledge, let him honour.

50 Brâhmans of other countries, *Kshatriyas*, princes, feudatories, and so forth let him welcome as if they were himself with viands, clothing, and so forth.

51 A refugee, though qualified by all crimes, let him protect.

52 Let him check the bad ;

53 And protect the learned.

54 Let him not oppress a village :

55 Or a city :

56 Or temples.

57 Let him make use of fermented liquors ;

58 Not in excess, however.

59 Also flesh food.

60 Compassion to life must be shown :

61 The Bauddha way and so forth not.

62 Nor as regards imperceptible (creatures).

63 Gay ladies are to be used.

64 The earth has a measure of fifty krores of *yojanas*.

65 And it has seven continents.

66 And is girt with seven seas.

67 *Karma, Bhoga, Atibhoga, Divya, Shringâra,*

---

61 The Buddhists and Jains especially denounce killing in sacrifice.

62 'Imperceptible' apparently a reference to the Jains precautions against killing small creatures.

67 These names, as applied to the seven *dvipas*, do not seem to occur elsewhere : but *Bharata Varsha* is *karma-bhumi* in the *Vishnu-purana*, II. 3. 2.

Siddha and *Kaivalya* are the designations of the continents.

68 The midmost is the Land of Action *(Karma)*.

69 What is in the middle thereof, as far as the Jambu tree, belongs to Meru.

70 Therein to the north is Himvat.

71 On the south of that is land of nine thousand *(yojanas)*.

72 Therein to the south is Bhârta Khanda.

73 There the fruits of righteousness and unrighteousness have their visible effect.

74 In relation therto is the administration of punishment.

75 It is to be studied by the people of Bhârata, past, future, and present and by men of the four castes.

76 By administration of punishment the holy Sun is king :

77 And Wind and all the gods :

78 And mortal creatures.

79 From Badarikâ to [Râma's] Bridge is a distance of one thousand *yojanas*.

80 From Dvârká as far as Purushottama and the

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70 'On the north' : This cannot mean on the north of Meru or of Jambudvipa, which would be contrary to the ordinary view : it must, therefore, mean 'starting with the north' of India.

71 'Nine thousand' : The usual estimate, as in the *Vishnu-Purana* II. 3. 2.

79 'One thousand' : The same estimate is given by the *Vayu-Purana* : see Wilson's note in *Vishnu-P.* (ed Hall, II. p. 127).

80 The *Purushottama-kshetra* is in Orissa, and the

Shâlagrâma is a distance of seven hundred *yojanas.*

81 In this area also are the seven Great Mountains, Raivataka, Vindhya, Sahya, Kumâra, Malaya, Shrîparvata, Pâriyâtra.

82 And the Great Rivers, Gangá, Sarasvati, Kâlindî, Godâvari, Káveri, Támraparnî, Ghritamálá.

83 And eighteen countries.

84 Eighteen are the maritime kings :

85 And eighteen the hill kings.

86 The creation of Ráma consists of one hundred and forty (*yojanas* ?) on the south and north, as far as the Sahya twelve ; that of Vishvâmitra eleven.

87 Nepal one hundred and four.

88 On the shore of the eastern sea :

From Varuna to the sea is a space of eight *yojanas.*

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shalagrama-ksh. is supposed to be on the river Gandak : see Wilson's *Vishnu-P.* (index).

82 'Great Rivers' : The word *kula-nadi* does not seem to occur elsewhere. On the various lists of the chief rivers see Wilson's note, *Vishnu-P.* II pp. 131-2. The *Ghritamala* is, doubtless, Wilson's *Kritamala*.

86 'The Creation of Rama' and 'the Creation of Vishvamitra' : The Epic story of Vishvamitra's attempt at a rival creation is well known ; but the phrase *Vishvamitra-srishti* does not seem to occur in the literature. In the tradition of the pandits the idea is quite familiar, *Vishvamitra* being credited (like Ahriman among the Iranians) with the authorship of all faulty or misshapen and misbegotten things, such as the mirage.

The application of the numbers in this *sutra* is obscure. Is 'as far as the Sahya' = 'in breadth' ?

88 The site of the *Varuna-tirtha* does not appear to be known.

89 Each one hundred and five are northern Lâta, And eastern Lâta.

90 Kâshî and the Pâncâla country are together eighty ;

91 Kekaya and Srinjaya are sixty ;

92 The Matsya and Magadha country one hundred ;

93 Mâlava and Shakunta eighty ;

94 Kosala and Avanti sixty ;

95 Saihya and Vidarbha together two hundred ;

96 Videha and the Kuru country one hundred ;

97 Kâmboja and Dashârna eighty.

98 These are the great countries.

99 These indeed are four-cornered.

100 The Âratta and Bâhlîka country are from south to north one hundred, from east to west twelve.

101 The Shaka and Surâshtra country are four-cornered and of forty.

102 Anga, Vanga, and Kalinga are of one hundred and four-cornered.

103 Kâshmîr, the Huna and Ambashtha countries, and Sindh are of one hundred and four-cornered.

104 The Kirâta, Sauvîra, Cola, and Pândya countries, situated on north and south are of one hundred increased by sixty.

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89 sqq. For other lists of countries and peoples see *Mahabharata*, *Bhishma-parvan*, IV.317-378. *Vishnu-Purana*, II.3, Varaha's *Brihat-samhita*, XIV, *Garga-samhita* (*Janapada-vyuha*).

93 Shakunta is not elsewhere known as name of a country or people.

103 The Hunas are, doubtless, those of Hundesh.

105 The Yâdava country and Kâncî are of one hundred and forty.

106 These are minor countries.

107 The seven Konkans are of one hundred and four, and the...

108 These are on the water.

109 On mount Sahaya are four hill countries;

110 On Shrîparvata two;

111 On Raivataka one;

112 On the Vindhya five;

113 On Kumâra one;

114 On Mahendra three;

115 On Pâriyâtra three.

116 All are equal, from south to north of fifty, from east to west of five *yojanas*.

117 In the Mleccha region are Yavana countries, mountainous.

118 The countries are adorned with villages, cities, gardens, and so forth, and with holy domains and so forth.

119 Eight are the Vaishnava domains;

120 Badarikâ, Shâlgrâma, Purushottama, Dvâraka, Bilvâcala, Ananta, Simha, Shrîranga.

121 Eight the Shaiva;

122 Avimuktaka, Gangâ-dvâra, Shiva-kshetra,

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105 Yadavas: Perhaps those of Devagiri.

107 For the 'seven' Konkans, see Wilson's *Vishnu purana* (ed. Hall II. p. 178, n. 14).

119—127 Again an insertion?

120 Bilvacala......Simha: Perhaps the Bilvadri and Simhacala of which *mahatmyas* exist.

Rame-Yamunâ (?), Shiva-sarasvatî, Mavya, Shárdûla, and Gaja kshetras.

123 The Shákta are also eight;

124 Oghghîna Jàla, Pûrna, Káma, Kolla, Shrî-shaila, Káncî, Mahendra.

125 These are the great domains;

126 And effective of all attainment;

127 Also ineffective [*or* to be worshipped].

128 On the Vindhya dwells perpetually Durgá, and Bhadrakálî;

129 On Kumára Kumára dwells perpetually;

130 On Sahya Ganapati;

131 On Raivataka the Teacher;

132 On Mahendra Garuda;

133 On Páriyátra Kshetrapála.

134 In the Land of Action, wich is Bhárata, the gods are many times as numerous as the men.

135 Gods, Demons, Yakshas, Rákshasas, Bhûtas, Pretas, Vináyakas, Kûshmándas, those with distorted features:

136 What they carry and their dress are determinate:

137 Friendly or Terrifying, *Yoginís* and *Nâgas*; they, assuming forms at will, consort in countless numbers with mankind.

138 And by men they may be protected.

139 In that [Bhárata country] are ambrosial herbs.

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122 Avimuktaka: Benares.

124 Oghghina: Ujjain?

131 The Teacher: Brihaspati.

133 Kshetrapala: Shiva.

140 At this point the number of the ages, the *Kritâ*, *Treta*. *Drâpara*, and *Tishya*.

141 In the *Krita* [the creatures are] possessed of knowledge ;

142 And versed in the administration of punishment;

143 In the *Tretâ* they are active and skilled in policy :

144 In the *Drâpara* they are followers of *Tântrikas* and of strong tastes;

145 And versed in policy :

146 In the *Tishya* quarter men are strong in knowledge and action, and versed in the administration of punishment :

147 After that they are of diverse rightfulness, colour, and dress, and void of the administration of punishment.

148 And the peoples behold, intent upon false speaking. Thus says the Preceptor.

So in the *Brihaspati Sûtra* the third chapter.

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140 The *Mahabharata* also names the Tishya as the fourth age

IV (Omens and Counsel).

1 At the Brâhma hour the rising from sleep.

2 Let him consider right and interest.

3 The cry of the cock is auspicious :

4 Also the sight of an elephant and so forth;

5 Also the sound of elephants, the chanting of auspicious praises, and Veda-recitation ;

6 Also holy talk of divinities ;

7 Also recollection of nobles ;

8 Also eye-collyrium ;

9 Also looking in a mirror.

10 Let him adorn [himself].

11 Also chewing of betel :

12 Also camphor, sandal, incense of agallochum:

13 Conchs, *Kâhalas*, horns, cut reeds, guitars, harps, drums, kettle-drums :

14 And noises of trumpets ;

15 Also seeing of divine women :

16 Also the interrupted first note of the minstrel (?) :

17 Also the sound of the *jâti* melody (or 'the cry of birth') :

18 White flowers in liquid butter.

19 Fire satisfied with *mantras* becomes of one hundred flames, and attended with smoke having the sing of Vishnu.

20 Then the spectacle of oxen is inauspicious :

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1 The *Brahma muhurta* is the early morning: see Weber *Indische Studien*, x. p. 296, and *Aitareya Brahmana* II. 15.

4 The Greek writers mention the early morning salutation of an Indian king by an elephant (Aelian, XIII. c. 22).

12 Or 'incense of camphor, sandal, and agallochum'.

21 Also the spectacle of vultures

22 Also a twilight blaze :

23 Also the cry of quarrelling jackals.

24 Or the sound of carnivorous beasts is heard at the gate of village or city.

25 Where also sweating of images of gods is perceived, there departure to another place is the only appeasement : there is no remedy.

26 Unavoidably to be observed are these acts.

27 Victory is rooted in counsel.

28 Men are of three kinds, best, worst and middle.

29 In counsel also [is the same triplicity].

30 That action is best which is undertaken in company with connections, kinsmen, friends, the learned, the thoughtful.

31 And, when right is doubtful, devotion to a guru.

32 He is best who sets to after taking counsel with men intent on advantage.

33 If, after thinking out good and bad results, he sets to through being overcome by folly, he is the worst.

34 That counsel is best which is taken unanimously, under the guidance of policy, by wise councillors.

35 Where, at first of divers opinions, they are afterwards unanimous, that is the middle.

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25 'Sweating of images' : Cf. *Harsha-carita*, trans , p. 147, also Vergil's *et maestum ill. crimat templis ebur aeraque sudant* (Georg. 1. 480), and Milton's

'And the chill marble seems to sweat

'While each peculiar power forgoes his wonted seat'.

36 Where there is broiling and reproach, one being for right, one for interest, along with women, children, and the aged, tears on the one part, anger on the other, that is the worst.

37 First the measure is introduced by the master.

38 Then with voice, action, mind, salutation, and rigid prostration let them in order of dignity be made to salute the master.

39 Let him salute him whose food Vaishravana or Vâcaspati when old refuses not to eat.

40 For the rest the opinion of each in order is to be heard.

41 The measure is to be considered after placating the master.

42 Having first extolled the master's strong points, and then weighed his master's weak points, the weak points of the adversary, and the weak points of the netural, let him again lay stress upon the master's strong points.

43 Having again described the measures and the means, and having placated the master, he is to consider the measure.

44 With careless, assailed, unfortunate persons warlike enterprises do not succeed.

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38 'Rigid prostration' : The word *dandapranama* 'prostration with the body straight as a stick' occurs in the *Dashakumara-carita* : see the St. petersburg lexicon.

39 Vaisravana and Vacaspati are apparently named as types of king and Brahman. Note the negative verb *abhunjate*.

42 *Guna* and *dosha* are here untechnical : cf. II. 1.

45 Against a not careless, right-knowing person, a master of his senses, a conqueror, one angry against the powerful, and hard to assail warlike enterprise is not to be undertaken.

46 " One knowing the *Shâstras*, how does he not understand measures? " so let him not say.

47 Those who conquer the strongest enemies, pleasure and so forth, they conquer all foes.

48 Let him not make the first advance in rendering services :

49 Also let him certainly render service.

50 As regards an unavoidable disaster, having discerned it in advance, let him provide remedy for the disaster.

51 So says the Guru.

So in the *Brihaspati Sûtra* the Fourth Chapter.

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46 *I. e.* let him not claim practical infallibility on the ground of learning.

V (*Upâyas*)

1 Four means.

2 Also three :

3 Also pretended oversight and slaying.

4 In dealing with the bold conciliation ;

5 With the timid conciliation and division ;

6 With the greedy conciliation, largesse, and division ;

7 With the vexatious conciliation, division, largesse, pretended oversight, and slaying.

8 Conciliation is to be set to work first :

9 The purpose of the mind and also the friendly action of the voice.

10 Relatives are pleased at the misfortune of relatives.

11 Relatives, in their secret hearts malignant, take advantage of a relative.

12 Among all dangers the danger of relatives is to be dreaded.

13 In cows milk and in a Brâhman anger [are certain] ;

14 In women fickleness, in kinsmen remoteness ; friendship is like a drop of water upon a leaf.

15 The friendly speech of elders, also inspired by *Shâstras*, whoso heed not, are inspired by destiny : them, therefore, let him carefully avoiding dwell afar.

16 What is at variance with convention let him not practise.

I The four *upayas* are, of course, war, dissension, conciliation, and bribery.

17 Kinsmen, crocodiles among the lotuses of secrets of *mantras* and sciences ; not to act without good omens ; and disasters (?).

18 It must be told with avoidance of the bad : though possessed of knowledge, he is like a snake in the house.

19 An adherent from the enemy's side one should not trust.

20 According to merit let him entertain (people) in his service.

21 Let him test by their sentiments.

22 A hero is not quickly known by the weak : intelligence let him promptly test in an unknown matter.

23 He may be known by his gestures :

24 A composed person not.

25 One whose mind is without apprehension is calm.

26 And without anger : for even children and so forth conceal that.

27 Upon learning the fall of his family a wise man under these circumstances would have recourse even to an enemy's side, if possessed of wisdom.

28 Unfailingly in the heart the [effects of] former good and evil arise ; [so] the bad man would not on all occasions act as such.

29 The fickle are not to be highly honoured.

30 So says the Preceptor Brihaspati.

So in the *Brihaspati Sûtra* the Fifth Chapter.

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17 The text is here corrupt, some proverbial expression apparently being involved. The import seems to be that counsel, study, and secrets, also misfortunes, should not be incautiously spoken of.

19 Accusative after *vi-shvas*, as in I. 38.

22 Reading *viro' sharaih sahasa na jnayate.*

26 'Conceal': *vi-vri* may, it appears, sometimes have this sense.

27 Reading *nayayuktam*. The meaning is, however, not clear.

VI (*Naya*)

1 He should get to know the action suitable to place and time, also policy and impolicy :

2 Not what is contrary to Veda, manliness, and pride.

3 Let him observe friendly acts.

4 Policy is carried out after examination by councillors.

5 Let him examine what is to be done or not to be done in conjunction with councillors living by their intellect.

6 Whoso can design even an unwelcome measure, he is to be employed in counsel.

7 Let him acquier wealth.

8 Whoso has store of wealth, has friends and righteousness and knowledge and merit and prowess and intelligence.

9 By one without riches riches cannot be acquired, as an elephant by one without elephant.

10 In riches is rooted the world.

11 And therein are all things.

12 A man without riches is a dead man and a *Candâla*.

13 Likewise let him acquire knowledge, the root of righteousness.

14 In knowledge is rooted the world.

15 Knowledge again is all.

16 So says the Guru.

So in the *Brihaspati Sûtra* the Sixth Chapter.

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6 Reading *api karyam* in place of *vikaram*. The sense would seem to be that one who would employ his intelligence in measures which he personally disliked would be a trustworthy councillor.

F. W. Thomas.